A

CRITICAL INQUIRY

INTO THE

LIFE

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

BY THE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS:

From the FRENCH of the BARON DE ST. CROIX:

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,

By Sir RICHARD CLAYTON, Bart.

Illuſtrated with a Map of the Marches of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

BATH:

PRINTED BY S. HAZARD:

FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW, LONDON.

M.DCC.XCIII.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF DERBY,

LORD LIEUTENANT and CUSTOS ROTULORUM

OF THE

COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

MY LORD,

FROM the Friendſhip, with which you have long honoured me, I have no heſitation to whom I ſhould addreſs the following Work.——Permit me then to place your name at the head of it, and at the ſame time to offer it to your Lordſhip, as a trifling teſtimony of the attachment and regard of

YOUR FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

RICHARD CLAYTON.

Sept. 12th 1793.

PREFACE.

THE Critical Examination of the Ancient Hiſtorians of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, which now appears in an Engliſh Dreſs, was firſt uſhered into the World at the French Academy "des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres," where it obtained the Premium from that learned Society in the Year 1772. After an interval of three years the Author publiſhed it with additions and improvements; but the Impreſſion was rapidly bought up, and there is not at preſent a ſingle copy to be procured without difficulty upon the Continent. I have reaſon to believe that a knowledge of it has been hitherto confined within a narrow circle in GREAT BRITAIN, and that when it has croſſed the Channel, it hath been to paſs only into the hands of a few perſons of Taſte and Erudition.——Of the Original the French Academy

demy hath expreſſed its unqualified approbation: of the Tranſlation it becomes not me to ſpeak. In juſtice however to the Baron de St. Croix, I ought to acknowledge that ſome alterations have been made, and for theſe I am reſponſible. Some redundancies I may have alſo pruned off, but I flatter myſelf the full vigour of the leading Shoot hath been preſerved. If I have deviated from the Original, in the introduction of the quotations from the different Writers, that have been cited, I may not poſſibly have occaſion for much apology. The learned Reader will readily forgive a number of his old Acquaintances being again brought immediately before his eye, and when Authors are referred to, they are undoubtedly the beſt Comment on themſelves. On turning indeed to the Greek Writers, I was not particularly ſatisfied with the French Verſions of the paſſages in queſtion. Some of them were looſe; in others the ſenſe appeared to have been miſtaken;

miſtaken; and, in theſe inſtances, I conſidered the production of the evidence, on which I formed my opinions, to be a duty, from which I could not honourably diſengage myſelf. The references in many places have been by theſe means corrected; where they were wanting, they have been added; and from their number, the Work has taken inſenſibly a new ſhape. The Notes and Obſervations will be found in general connected with the Subject. Sometimes I may have wandered beyond the limits, that perhaps I ſhould have preſcribed to myſelf, yet I ſtill truſt the excurſions are not of unpardonable extent.

ERRATA.

Page	55	*Note*	line	2	*for* Kaſter	*read*	Kuſter
	61	*Text*	line	12	Eldrifi		Eldrifi
		Note [l]			Eldrifi		Eldrifi
	76	*Note* [t]			Uſher.		Uſſerii
	78	*Note* [d]	line	1	quinxe		quinze
	80	*Text*	line	7	Phacelides		Phaſelides
	82	*Note*	line	6	aucun		aucune
		Note	line	9	certain		certaine
	115	*Note* [l]	line	5	Boyle		Bayle
	122	*Note* [h]			Port		Poſt
	136	*Text*	line	7	Tapſacus		Thapſacus
		Note	line	1	*after* Guides	*inſert*	are
	147	*Note* [o]			Uſherii		Uſſerii
	156	*Note* [i]	line	1	ὁſι		ὁῖι
	216	*Text*	line	2	Le Brun		Le Bruyn
		Note [d]			de le Brun		de le Bruyn
	217	*Note* [m]			de la Bruyn		de le Bruyn
	261	*Note* [a]	line	1	Βαϐυλονι		Βαϐυλωνι
	301	*Text*	line	11	*dele* to		
	310	*Note* [b]	line	1	Onne		Omne
	383	*Text*	line	4	Atheneus		Athenæus
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	400	*Text*	line	3	Cophina		Cophena
	423	*Text*	line	17	miſtakes		miſtake

For Volga *read* Wolga *paſſim*

The MARCHES of ALEXANDER the GREAT, from MONSr D'ANVILLE.

EUXINE SEA

CASPIAN SEA

SCYTHIA

MASSAGETÆ

SACÆ

SARMATIA

ASIATICA

PONTUS

CAPPADOCIA

ARMENIA

MESOPOTAMIA

SYRIA

ARABIA

ASSYRIA

BABYLONIA

MEDIA

PERSIA

CARMANIA

PARTHIA

HYRCANIA

MARGIANA

BACTRIA

ARIA

PARAPAMISUS

ARACHOSIA

GEDROSIA

ORITÆ

EGYPT

LYBIA

ARABIA

Ichthyophagi

Stadia made use of in Mavandery Marches.

Leagues of 3000 Geometrical Feet or 2500 Toises

INTRODUCTION.

THE ſtate of letters depends in every country upon its political conſtitution. Public liberty gives birth and animation to talents of every denomination: deſpotiſm ſtrangles them at once.——Sparta, forgetful of the ſage maxims of its legiſlator, and Athens, intoxicated with its ſucceſſes, neglected their common ſafety, from principles of mutual diſtruſt. The Peloponneſian war having waſted their forces, and the momentary glory of Thebes having expired with Epaminondas, Philip embraced the opportunity of the Grecian diſſentions to diſſolve their federal government, and to reduce the people that had ſo long reſiſted the arms of Aſia. In vain was the eloquence of Demoſthenes exerted to rouſe his countrymen from their ſhameful lethargy. Their morals were corrupted, luxury had annihilated every manly ſentiment, and the great exploits of ſo many heroes who had immortalized themſelves in the fields of Marathon and Platœa, and in the naval victories near Salamis, inſtead of reviving in the breaſts of the Athenians their antient enthuſiaſm for military vir-

tue, ſerved only by flattering their pride and vanity, to render them ſelf-ſufficient and preſumptuous.——National effeminacy had gradually prepared the Perſian monarchy for its ruin, and on the death of Philip, Alexander mounted the throne and put a period to that empire. The death of this prince in its turn produced another revolution, which was attended with effects equally melancholy and fatal to the general repoſe, and to the progreſs of ſcience and of literature. At intervals the Greeks became the ſport of ambition and of the caprices of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and thoſe proud and ſpirited republicans were rapidly metamorphoſed into a degraded herd of ſlaves. Even the tribune where Demoſthenes had thundered, ſoon only echoed with decrees dictated by adulation and ſervility.——One little ſpark of freedom was indeed ſtill cheriſhed in a part of the Peloponneſus, and the zeal of Aratus, the valour of Philopæmon, and the wiſdom of Lycortas gave celebrity to the Achæan league, and ſupported it in its delicate and diſtreſſing circumſtances. The corruption however had extended too far to be checked, and the very vitals of the Grecian conſtitution were infected with the general depravity. Calliſthenes and his partiſans made no ſcruple of ſelling their country to the Romans, and this wary and crafty people, who had always the art of concealing the ſervitude, to which they reduced the neighbouring nations, under the ſpecious appearances of alliances and friendſhip, completed its ſubjection. But Greece, by the deſtruction of the Achæans, had indeed demoliſhed the laſt rampart of its liberty.

The

The arts and ſciences did not long ſurvive the loſs, and deſpotiſm opened for them with the ſame hands one common tomb. Tragedy, whoſe peculiar province it was to call down the public deteſtation upon tyranny, and the ancient comedy, which had the happy privilege of holding up the abuſe of power to contempt and irony, and of correcting by theſe means any exceſſes of the democratic ſpirit, loſt at once their influence, and along with it their brilliancy. The Gymnaſtic games, ſo proper for the exerciſe of muſcular ſtrength, and to form ſoldiers in the times of peace, became but an uſeleſs ſpectacle, and the individuals who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on theſe occaſions were principally remarkable for their ſcandalous deportment. That ſublime art, which animated the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton drooped and languiſhed, when it was to figure but the images of ſlaves and paraſites. Even the philoſopher, who from having directed the inſtruction of the ſuperior order of his fellow-citizens deſcended into their ſycophant, was at laſt diſtinguiſhed only by the habit of the ancient ſects, which ſo many great names had dignified.——Here let us pauſe upon the fate of hiſtory in theſe diſaſtrous days.

That enchanting harmony of ſtyle, with the art of giving energy to the moſt trifling details, which characterizes the works of Herodotus; the ſublime and ſimple graces of Xenophon, uniting the moſt profound political knowledge with all the talents of an able general and of a philoſopher worthy of the friendſhip of Socrates; the manly eloquence and ſtern virtue of Thucydides

had diſappeared, and we find but very few, if any, traces of their maſterly productions in the writers who followed them in the hiſtoric line.—Yet Theopompus, Philiſtus, Ephorus and Timœus enjoyed a great ſhare of popular applauſe, though their ſeveral works are deficient both in method and materials.—The civil revolutions undoubtedly occaſioned this ſtriking difference, and there are three remarkable eras, that ſhould be particularly attended to.—The firſt is the preciſe period when Philip had rendered himſelf the maſter of Greece.

Tyranny naturally produces different effects on different diſpoſitions and characters. Weak and puſillanimous ſome bend immediately beneath the blaſt, and loſing on the firſt moment of attack every idea of reſiſtance, they kiſs with trembling adoration the hand which is lifted up for their oppreſſion. With a ſuperior force of mind, and indignant at the proſpect of thoſe evils, which arbitrary power hath always following at its heels, others endeavour to exaſperate their country by virulent invectives againſt its new maſters, and alternately exaggerate their vices, and diminiſh the little virtue, that they may accidentally poſſeſs. Such was the influence of the Macedonian power, and it is viſible both in the conduct of thoſe who were at the head of the Grecian ſtates, and the writings of the times.

The reign of Alexander may be reckoned the ſecond ſtage of the decline of hiſtory. Greece being accuſtomed to the Macedonian yoke, and dazzled by the victories of the conqueror of Aſia,

Aſia, in which it was in ſome ſort intereſted from the glory reflected on it, the fermentation which Philip's enterpriſes had excited in its republican breaſts gradually cooled. Their hatred and animoſity were at length ſucceeded by enthuſiaſm, and the ſplendid actions of the Macedonian warrior made an impreſſion on the ſpectators too forcible and powerful to be reſiſted. The later writers, who have taken up the ſame ſubject, have but too often imbibed their ſentiments. They lived indeed under the Roman juriſdiction, but in the miſerable times when the univerſe became a prey to the caprices of thoſe ſanguinary wretches, who filled ſo diſgracefully the throne of the Cæſars. This is the third epoch of the change in the hiſtoric character, and it will be afterwards entered into at large.

The total extinction of the democratic form of government involved in it the fall of literature, and more particularly of hiſtory, which admits of no cultivation with ſucceſs under arbitrary power. Truth was then buried under a maſs of fabulous and contradictory traditions, and the penetrating ſagacity of the philoſopher can alone diſtinguiſh it from falſity, and reconcile the ſtatements of various and jarring recitals.—It would be the height of folly to imagine, that in the following treatiſe the way hath been clearly ſeen amidſt the darkneſs in which ages are enveloped, or that facts have been at all times ſufficiently diſcriminated, which have been magnified beyond their juſt proportion by adulation, and by that love of the marvellous, which was a prevailing paſſion amongſt the Greeks, and a foible from which

which even their beſt writers are not exempt. In the purſuit of the ſucceeding inquiries the truth hath not only been endeavoured to be diſcovered, but according to Ariſtotle's advice the probability. In ſome inſtances, it hath been neceſſary to ſubſtitute conjectures for proofs, and where the reality hath been totally concealed to be ſatisfied with reaſonable ſuppoſitions.——Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Arrian, Q. Curtius and Juſtin are the principal hiſtorians, who have preſerved at any length the actions in the reign of Alexander. A minute examination of each of theſe writers would be unavoidably embarraſſed with their repetitions and obſcurities. The route, that hath been chalked out, appears likely to ſecure it againſt theſe inconveniences, and to leave the full liberty of beſtowing every degree of attention on the facts in chronological order. On this plan, the obſervations may be extended not only to the writers of the life of Alexander, but to every thing that antiquity hath tranſmitted to us relative to this celebrated conqueror.—In the firſt ſection, the ſources, from which the ſeveral hiſtorians have drawn their information, and the degree of authority, that is their due, will be examined. The ſecond will be confined to the military exploits of Alexander, and in the third, thoſe actions will be treated of, that particularly delineate his character. The fourth will be ſet apart for ſome geographical details, which his different expeditions naturally furniſh.

CRITICAL

CRITICAL INQUIRY

RELATING TO THE

ANCIENT HISTORIANS

WHO HAVE WRITTEN OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

SECT. I.

AFTER the laſt ſigh of expiring Liberty in any State, patriotiſm in its language ceaſes to convey to us the ſame idea; and having loſt its influence, no longer warms the frozen breaſts of the inhabitants. Though united within the ſame walls, they concern themſelves no farther with public affairs than as their own private intereſts are immediately affected, and enjoying the preſent hour without any care of futurity, they are ever ready to

to become the ſlaves of that maſter, who bids higheſt for their purchaſe. Self-intereſt dries up the ſource of every ſocial virtue, and as the love of their country, which once inſpired them with every great and noble ſentiment for the public good, no longer actuates them, men of letters frequently employ their talents on ſubjects equally devoid of ſpirit and utility. Taken in this light the annals of a conqueror cannot agitate the reader, like thoſe ſublime and pathetic traits which are perpetually occurring in the hiſtory of a Free People. A ſingle individual acts and triumphs, and a few divided rays of glory are faintly ſcattered on his troops. In a Republic, on the contrary, each member of the community hath a ſhare more or leſs conſiderable in every event; and the happineſs or miſery of the public, from his relation to it, becomes that of his own family.——The actions of his fellow-citizens are hereditary diſtinctions tranſmitted to his children, and the national and private glory are the ſame.

In turning over the hiſtories of the ancient Free ſtates, notwithſtanding the diſtance of time, and a revolution in the manners and forms of government, the events ſtill faſten on the mind, and affect it with the livelieſt emotions. Greece, however, when overpowered with the preſſure of the Macedonian yoke, and afterwards with that of the Romans, paid little attention to public meaſures. The vigour of its hiſtorians was ſoon loſt in the drudgery of their ſervile pens, and their genius vaniſhed with the bright days of their country. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, after having mentioned that harmonious elocution which marked the

ſtyle

ſtyle of the ancient Grecian writers, adds "There is not one of the moderns that hath beſtowed the leaſt regard on it, or conſidered it as either neceſſary or adding elegance to their performances. The numerous writings therefore, which they have left us, are of ſuch a nature as few readers have the patience to go through them. In this claſs are to be included Phylarchus, Duris, Polybius, Saon, Demetrius Calantianus, Hieronymus, Antilochus, Heraclides, Hegeſias the Magneſian, and many others, whoſe names a whole day would not allow me to enumerate."[a]

In proportion as the weight of ſervitude was felt, the human mind ſhrunk within itſelf, and the ſtream of light, which letters

 had

[a] "Τοις δε μεταγενεστεροις ουκετι, πλην ολιγων· χρονω δ' υστερον πανταπασιν ημεληθη· και ουδεις ωετο δειν αναγκαιον αυτο ειναι, ουδε συμβαλλεσθαι τι τω καλλει των λογων. Τοιγαρτοι τοιαυτας συνταξεις κατελιπον, οιας ουδεις υπομενει μεχρι κορωνιδος διελθειν· Φυλαρχον λεγω, και Δυριν, και Πολυβιον, και Ψαωνα, και τον Καλαντιανον Δημητριον, Ιερωνυμον τε και Αντιλοχον, και Ηρακλειδην, και Ηγησιαν Μαγνητα, και αλλες μυριες· ων απαντων τα ονοματα ει βουλοιμην λεγειν, επιλειψει με ὁ της ημερας χρονος." Dion. Halicarn. de ſtructurâ orat. 39, 40. ed. Upton. 8vo 1728.

The following is the French Verſion of this Paſſage, "Elle fut dans les temps poſterieurs fort negligée. Perſonne n'a penſée ſans doute a faire ce parallele, (de cette nouvelle elocution avec l'ancienne) il ne ſoutiendroit pas juſque à la fin la lecture de tous les ouvrages que nous ont laiſſe *Plutarque*, Duris, Polybe, &c. &c." The miſtake of Plutarch for *Phylarchus* is alone ſufficient to prove the indiſpenſable neceſſity of the

"*Integros accedere fontes,*"

(Lucret. 1.–926.)

and of tracing authorities up to their ſource.———The Baron de St. Croix wiſhes to ſubſtitute the word Ψαμιον for Ψαωνα, and to apply it to Duris, who he ſays, was always diſtinguiſhed by this addition, but for this reading, a violent tranſpoſition will be requiſite, as well as a correction of the Text, and there is not certainly any occaſion for either, as Diodorus Siculus expreſsly mentions an Hiſtorian of this name, "Ψαων δε ὁ Πλαταιευς και απο τουτου διαδεξαμενος πραξεις εγραψε βιβλους τριακοντα." Diod. Sicul. Ecloga ex Lib. 21.–490. Tom. 2. Ed. Weſſ. Amſt. 1746.

had poured upon it, gradually receded, till it was totally extinguiſhed in obſcurity. That wretched ſpecies of adulation, which blaſts every appearance of genius and cramps the intellectual faculties, was laviſhly adopted under the Roman Emperors, and made a rapid progreſs towards general currency and uſage. Actions almoſt below notice became the ſubjects of the declamations of the ſophiſts, who deſcribed the moſt trifling circumſtances in the moſt unnatural colours, and in a pomp of language wholly inconſiſtent with them. Lucian hath compared this phrenſy to the epidemical fever of the Abderites,[b] who ran about the ſtreets after

[b] The Αβδηρα καλη τηιων αποικια was however proverbial. Voſſius hath thus explained it. "Teii cognita ubertate et amœnitate ſoli Abderitici, hanc ſuam coloniam pulchram appellarunt, ideoque omnes illuc migrarunt. Sed poſtea cognoverunt eam ſoli aeriſque in hoc tractu eſſe naturam, ut non tantum equi et jumenta in vicinis paſcuis degentes, aut bibentes ex Coſſineto flumine in rabiem agerentur, verum etiam ipſos homines ſæpe corripi inſaniâ, plurimoſque ibi naſci deliros. Hinc ironice dictum Abdera, pulchra Teiorum colonia." I. Voſſius ad P. Melam. Lib. 2. C. 2.

Lucian hath endeavoured to account for this general phrenſy on more rational principles, by ſuppoſing the Andromeda to have been repreſented by Archelaus a very popular tragedian, in the midſt of ſummer, and under the influence of burning weather, to ſuch crouded audiences as occaſioned a violent fever in moſt of the ſpectators, who had the image of the Andromeda ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on the brain, that in their delirium they were perpetually repeating it, "Αιτιαν δε μοι δοκει τε τοιετε παρασχειν, Αρχελαος ὁ τραγωδος, ευδοκιμων τοτε, μεσεντος θερες εν πολλω τω φλογμω τραγωδησας αυτοις την Ανδρομεδαν, ὡς πυρεξαι τε απο τε θεατρε τες πολλες, κ᾽ αναςαντας ὑςερον ες την τραγωδιαν παρολισθαινειν, επιπολυ εμφιλοχωρησης της Ανδρομεδας τη μνημη αυτων, κ᾽ τε Περσεως ετι συν τη Μεδεσῃ, την εκαςε γνωμην περιπετομενε" Quomod. Hiſt. Conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2. 2.--3. 4to Amſt. 1743.

Athenæus hath preſerved the Fragment which was principally vociferated, and the curious reader may not be diſpleaſed to find it.

"Συ

after the repreſentation of the Andromeda of Euripides, repeating with violent agitations particular verſes of this poet. Some extraordinary ſymptoms attended the complaint, but it was confined to the heats of ſummer and ended with it.

On the ſlighteſt ſkirmiſhes, details of them were given without end, teeming with incidents, that had no exiſtence whatever, but in the diſordered imaginations of their authors. Adding ignorance to effrontery, theſe chroniclers committed the moſt egregious faults, and erred in the moſt unguarded manner both againſt the laws of geography and tactics. After a moſt deſperate battle, when victory had been long doubtful, the loſs of the enemy was repreſented as immenſe, whilſt that of the Romans was barely perceptible; and in one of theſe ſingular engagements, the former were ſtated to have had ſeventy thouſand, and thirty-ſix[c] men

" Συ δ'ω Τυραννε θεων τε κ'Ανθρωπων, Ερως,
Η μη διδασκε τα καλα φαινεσθαι καλα,
Η τοις ερωσιν ὡν συ δημιουργος ει,
Μοχθουσι μοχθους ευτυχως συνεκπονει,
Και ταυτα μεν δρων τιμιος θεοις εση,
Μη δρων δ'ὑπ'αυτου τε διδασκεσθαι φιλειν,
Αφαιρεθηση χαριτας ἁις τιμωσι σε'"

Athenæus, Lib. 13. 561. Fol. Lugd. 1612.

[c] In the French Text the number ſtands at, ſeven thouſand, two hundred and thirty-ſix. Lucian's words are, " Των μεν πολεμιων, αποθανειν μυριαδες ἑπτα, και τριακοντα, και ἑξ προς διακοσιοις. Ρωμαιων δε, μονας δυο, και τραυματιας γενεσθαι εννεα." (Quomod. Hiſt. conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2.--29.) but his Editors and Annotators have differed on the calculation. Reitzius hath tranſlated the paſſage, " Hoſtium quidem cecidiſſe *trecenties*, et ſeptuagies mille ducentos et ſex: Romanorum vero

killed, and the latter, only two men killed and nine wounded. From an immoderate rage for deſcription, we have a laboured diſplay of arms and military weapons, of foſſes, baſtions and bridges; and the common accidents of war are worked up in ſuch a ſtyle, as to be more proper for the ſock and buſkin. In ſhort, the writers of theſe times disfigured their relations with ſo many, and ſuch extravagances, as often to have placed, to borrow one of Lucian's expreſſions, the head of the Rhodian Coloſſus[d] on the diminutive body of a dwarf.

This lively and judicious writer, that hath been juſt cited, after expoſing with his uſual poignancy the errors and defects of the hiſtorians of his days, hath eſtabliſhed more ſolid rules, and pointed out a clearer method for ſuch compoſitions. With a view of oppoſing a new and laſting barrier to the contagion of the times, and

vero ſolos duo, faucios autem factos novem." Geſner in his note upon the paſſage hath with more modeſty reduced the number to ſeventy thouſand, two hundred and thirty-ſix, but he adds with ſome pleaſantry, "Qui mentiuntur, tales minutias non curant."

[d] "Τὸ Ῥωδίων Κολοσσὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν νανωδεῖ σώματι ἐπιτιθέντας." (Quomod. Hiſt. conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2.--32.) The Rhodian Coloſſus, (for an account of which ſee Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 34. Sect. 18.— Strabo. Lib. 14.— Philoſtr. Vit. Apol. and alſo Scaliger, Animadverſiones in Euſebii Chronicon. No. 1794.–137.) was the work of Chares Lindius, the diſciple of Lyſippus, on which he was employed twelve years. It was finiſhed about 278 years before Chriſt, and after ſtanding fifty-ſix years, was overturned by an earthquake. Its remains ſtill exiſted as late as the 672nd year of the Chriſtian Era, when they were ſold, on the capture of Rhodes by the Saracens. Notwithſtanding the injuries this ſtatue muſt have ſuffered, and the numerous depredations it muſt have been expoſed to, the braſs is ſaid to have then loaden no leſs than nine hundred camels. Allowing each camel a load of eight hundred pounds, (Monſ. Volney reckons the uſual burthen about 750,) the whole muſt have weighed above 700,000 pounds.

and wiſhing to ſtrip the faſhionable ſtyle of the aſcendency, which it had uſurped over the public opinions, his two books of real hiſtory were profeſſedly undertaken. This work, which may be conſidered as an imaginary ſketch, from its aſtoniſhing fecundity in thoſe burleſque and gigantic ideas, which are ſcattered through it, with a prodigality almoſt without example, is in fact an ingenious fiction, intended to expoſe to general opprobrium thoſe ſtrange and monſtrous productions, which were made up of hiſtory and romance, without being ſtrictly either.

To fix perhaps the preciſe value of the works of every author, ſome knowledge of the age in which he lived is neceſſary, in order to appreciate the advantages that he was poſſeſſed of, what he owed merely to his own ingenuity and exertions, and to thoſe of his cotemporaries. The obſervations on the fate of letters, as connected with the civil revolutions of ſtates and governments that have been already made, appear to have partly anſwered the firſt of theſe ends, at leaſt, as far as the hiſtorians of the life of Alexander are concerned; to the ſecond, the reſult of a more particular examination of the hiſtorians themſelves, will be more immediately applicable. But previous to any diſſertation on theſe different hiſtorians, it may be requiſite to eſtimate the degree of credit to which they are ſeverally entitled, and to eſtabliſh it with any certitude, the authorities from which they derived their informations muſt be reſorted to. Where facts alſo reſt upon traditions, whether oral or written, there will be an indiſpenſable

penſable neceſſity of purſuing them back as far as poſſible, and of aſcending to the firſt evidences which are acceſſible.

That enthuſiaſm, which is born in ſeaſons of proſperity, and dies when they diſappear, that enthuſiaſm, which, in moments of national intoxication, produces ſuch rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes, had undoubtedly fired the imaginations of the companions of Alexander's arms and their cotemporaries. Yet this factitious and temporary fervour was but in reality the phoſphorus, which exhibits an apparent flame without its moſt eſſential qualities.——It naturally occaſioned a multitude of writings, where the marvellous rather ſeduced the underſtanding than affected it with any powerful emotions, and amazed it, without leaving on it any durable or laſting impreſſions.——Strabo informs us, that this love of the marvellous had ſo captivated almoſt all the hiſtorians of Alexander, that there were not any of them wholly free from this epidemic infection, or who made any heſitation at the ſacrifice of truth to it, wherever they interfered[e] with each other.

Calliſthenes,[f] Oneſicritus, Hegeſias and Clitarchus, ſeem to have

[e] "Cet amour du Merveilleux s'etoit emparé, ſelon Strabon, de la plume de preſque tous les hiſtoriens du conquerant de l'Aſie; aucun d'eux ne fut entierement exempt de ce defaut epidemique." Strabo's expreſſion in the paſſage referred to, is, "Πάντες μεν γαρ οἱ περι Αλεξανδρον, το θαυμαστον αντι ταληθους αποδεχονται." (Lib. 15.–1022.) A ſentiment that I have added.

[f] Calliſthenes ſucceeded Ariſtotle as preceptor to Alexander, and afterwards attended him in his oriental expedition. Cicero had but a mean opinion of his hiſtorical talents, as may be gathered

have been the authors of numerous miſtakes, and we know by experience, that they are always propagated in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and diſpoſition of the ſucceeding writers who tranſcribe them or adopt them. At this diſtance, we muſt rely on the judgment which the ableſt critics of the ancients have paſſed on their reſpective works, and the opinions which they entertained of them.——It was undoubtedly the intention of Calliſthenes[g] to magnify the actions of Alexander, and to augment his glory by a ſtyle as little adapted to hiſtory as to real eloquence. "Some expreſſions of Calliſthenes," ſays Longinus, "do not ſhine like ſtars, but glare like meteors."[h] The judicious criticiſm of Polybius, on his deſcription of the battle of Iſſus, ſhall be hereafter mentioned.—With equal ignorance in tactics, and ſuperſtition, which in a philoſopher is extraordinary, Calliſthenes relates, according to Strabo, that "Alexander having learnt that Perſeus and Hercules had viſited the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, began his march with the ſame emulation, from Parœtonium, and though ſtrong ſoutherly

gathered from two of his expreſſions. "Calliſthenes comes Alexandri, ſcripſit hiſtoriam; et hic quidem rhetorico pene more." (De oratore, Lib. 11. Sec. 14.) "Itaque ad Calliſthenem et Philiſtum redeo: in quibus te video volutatum. Calliſthenes quidem, vulgare et notum negotium." Epiſt. ad Q. Fratrem. Lib. 11. Epiſt. 13.

g "Ουκουν αυτος αφιχθαι απ' Αλεξανδρου δοξαν κτησομενος, αλλα εκεινον ευκλεα ες ανθρωπους ποιησων. και ουν και του θειου την μετουσιαν Αλεξανδρω ουκ εξ ὡν Ολυμπιας ὑπερ της γενεσεως αυτου ψευδεται ανηρτησθαι, αλλ' εξ ὡν αν αυτος ὑπερ Αλεξανδρου συγγραψας εξενεγκη ες ανθρωπους." Arrian. de Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. Cap. 10. 283. 8vo Edit. Amſt. 1757.

h Smith's Longinus. Sect. 3rd.–10.——"Και τινα των Καλλισθενους, οντα ουχ υψηλα αλλα μετεωρα." Dion. Long. Sec. 3. 40. 4to Lond. 1724.

ſoutherly winds oppoſed his progreſs, and he loſt his way amidſt clouds of ſand, he was preſerved by ſhowers of rain and by two ravens, who ſerved him for guides and pointed out to him the road.[1] Theſe circumſtances were dictated by flattery, and the following ones reſemble them. The Monarch had alone the privilege allowed him, of entering the temple in his uſual dreſs, the reſt of his companions being ordered to change theirs, and to wait the anſwer of the Oracle at the doors.—Its reſponſes inſtead of being delivered by the prieſt verbally, like thoſe of Delphi and Branchus, were in a great meaſure communicated by ſigns and nods, in imitation of the Jupiter of Homer."

> Who ſpoke, and awful bent his ſable brows,
> Shook his ambroſial curls, and gave the nod,
> The ſtamp of fate, and ſanction of the God.
>
> POPE.

"The Monarch was however expreſsly told, that he was the ſon of Jupiter. In a more tragic and exaggerated ſtyle, Calliſthenes

[1] A modern eſſayiſt might ſpin out a curious diſſertation on the ſubject of theſe winged pioneers. I am in doubt whether crows (See Langhorn's Plutarch Vol. 4. 260.) or ravens are to be underſtood, but the latter being more reſpectable Gentlemen, I have made choice of them for the office. Plutarch, without ſpecifying their number hath given us more at large the ſtory of the crows or ravens, and their ſervices, but he obſerves they were rather wonderful, an indirect method of attacking the credit of the whole. "Επειτα των ὁρων οἱ περ ησαν τοις ὁδηγοις συγχυθεντων, ϗ πλανης ουσης ϗ διασπασμυ των βαδιζοντων δια την αγνοιαν, κοραικες εκφανεντες ὑπελαμβανον την ἡγεμονικην της πορειας, ἑπομενων μεν, εμπροσθεν πετομενοι ϗ σπευδοντες, ὑστερουντας δε ϗ βραδυνοντας αναμενοντες· ὁ δε ην θαυμασιωτοτον, ὡς Καλλισθενης φησιν, ταις φωναις, ανακαλουμενοι τους πλανωμενους νυκτωρ, ϗ κλαζοντες. εις ιχνος καθισασαν της πορειας." De vit. Alex. Tom. 1.–680. Ed. Francf. 1620.

Calliſthenes adds, that Apollo had deſerted the Oracle of Branchus ſince the temple had been pillaged by the followers of Xerxes, when its fountain failed; that it had again flowed, and that ſome Mileſian envoys had brought to Memphis many of the Oracle's predictions, relative to Alexander the ſon of Jupiter, his future victory at Arbela, the death of Darius, and the Lacedæmonian political commotions. Athenais of Erythrea, another Erythrean Sibyl had before ſpoken of Alexander's illuſtrious origin.[k]

Was it by ſuch a medley of fables and credulity, that Calliſthenes flattered himſelf he ſhould immortalize the Conqueror of Aſia, and could ſuch a ridiculous and turgid narrative bear any compariſon whatever with that hero's actions? The philoſopher

k "Ὁ γαν Καλλισθενης φησι τον Αλεξανδρον φιλοδοξησαι μαλισα, αναβηναι τε επι το χρησηριον, επειδη κ᾽ Περσεα ηκασε προτερον αναβηναι κ᾽ Ἡρακλεα· ὁρμησαντα δ᾽ εκ Παραιτονιε κ᾽ περ νοτων επιπεσοντων βιασασθαι· πλανωμενον δ᾽ ὑπο τε κονιορτε σωθηναι γενομενων ομβρων, κ᾽ δυοιν κοραικων ἡγησαμενων την οδον, ηδε τε-των κολακευτικως λεγομενων τοιαυτα δε κ᾽ τα ἑξης· μονω γαρ δε τω βασιλει τον ἱερεα επιτρεψαι παρελθειν εις τον νεων μετα της συνηθες ςολης, τες δ᾽ αλλες μετενδυναι την εσθητα, εξωθεν τε της θεμιςειας ακροασασθαι ταντας πλην Αλεξανδρε, τετον δ᾽ ενδοθεν ειναι· εχ᾽ ὡσπερ εν Δελφοις, κ᾽ Βραγχιδαις τας αποθεσπισεις δια λογων, αλλα νευμασι κ᾽ συμβολοις το πλεον· ὡς κ᾽ παρ᾽ Ὁμηρω,

Η, κ᾽ κυανεησιν επ᾽ οφρυσι νευσε Κρονιων.

τε προφητε τον Δια ὑποκρινομενε· τετο μεντοι ρητως ειπειν τον ανθρωπον προς τον βασιλεα, ὁτι ειη Διος ὑις· Προσραγωδει δε τετοις ὁ Καλλισθενης, ὁτι τε Απολλωνος το εν Βραγχιδαις μαντειον εκλελοιποτος, εξ ὁτε το ἱερον ὑπο των Βραγχιδων σεσυλητο επι Ξερξε περσισαντων, εκλελοιπυιας δε κ᾽ της κρηνης, τοτε ἡ τε κρηνη αναςχοι, κ᾽ μαντεια πολλα ὁι Μιλησιων πρεσβεις κομισθεντες εις Μεμφιν περι της εκ Διος γενεσεως τε Αλεξανδρε, κ᾽ της εσομενης περι Αρβηλα νικης, κ᾽ τε Δαρειε θανατε, κ᾽ των εν Λακεδαιμονι νεωτερισμων· περι δε της ευγενειας, κ᾽ την Ερυθραιαν Αθηναιδα φησιν ανειπειν· κ᾽ γαρ ταυτην ὁμοιαν γενεσθαι τη παλαια Σιβυλλη τη Ερυθραια." Strabo. Lib. 17.--1168, 1169.

indeed deſigned to render the fame of Alexander dependent on his own abilities, and ſubſervient to his intereſts; but led aſtray by his own vanity, he erred in the choice of his plan, and fell into diſgrace. Yet we muſt do him the juſtice to acknowledge that he diſcovered great firmneſs of mind, when Alexander inſiſted on exceſſive and divine honours from his ſubjects. Calliſthenes then comes forward as the auguſt protector of the injured religion of his country, and the laſt and only champion of its liberty. But a moment's reflection on the preciſe period of this event, which was ſo ſoon followed by his impriſonment, will convince us, that he had no more to hazard, when he ſo courageouſly reſiſted the Macedonian monarch's inclinations, whoſe indignation he had already rouſed.——A ſtriking and a memorable leſſon for the writers of every age, who, forgetful of the duties, which they owe to their own times, to poſterity, and to themſelves, in vain endeavour to ally the low and little intrigues of the courtier with philoſophical integrity and freedom!

Oneſicritus of Ægina, a follower of Diogenes the Cynic, according to Diogenes Laertius, who ſeems to have been a mere compiler without taſte, and to have confounded the firſt and ſecond Cyrus, had written a hiſtory of Alexander on the model of the Cyropœdia, which he probably ſuppoſed to be fictitious; but his falſities and fables have not left us any poſſibility of comparing him with the ſage Xenophon. In imitation of the diſciple of Socrates, who compoſed the memoirs of the younger Cyrus,

Cyrus, the ſcholar of Diogenes entered on thoſe of Alexander. Though he had an excellent original, it was miſerably copied;[l] and Strabo hath admitted that, of all the hiſtorians of Alexander, this cynic philoſopher had advanced with the moſt conſummate aſſurance, tales and paradoxes the moſt ſingular and abſurd.[m] But perhaps it was by theſe means, that he expected to continue in the favour of the Macedonian monarch, who entertained him at his court, and carried him along with him, for the declared purpoſe of writing his hiſtory.——From ſuch venal hands, have we to expect any thing but diſtorted facts in the narrative of Alexander's expeditions! Truth cannot ſtoop to any bribes, and where rewards are begged with importunity, they are notoriouſly the wages of corruption.

Hegeſias, the Magneſian, firſt introduced into Greece, as Strabo informs us,[n] the Aſiatic ſtyle of eloquence, which waſtes, like

[l] Diogenes Laertius hath paſſed a leſs ſevere judgment on this unfortunate hiſtorian, "Και τη ἑρμηνεια δε παραπλησιος ὡλην ὁτι ὡς απογραφος εξ αρχετυπου δευτερευει." (Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--354. 4to Amſt. 1709.) Little of the Archetype however ſeems to have been viſible.

[m] Arrian hath recorded a very particular inſtance of the hiſtorical fidelity of Oneſicritus, and in a fact, of which there could be no doubt. "Της δε αυτου νεως κυβερνητης Ονησικριτος, ὁς εν τη ξυγγραφη ην τινα ὑπερ Αλεξανδρου ξυνεγραψε, και τουτο εψευσατο, ναυαρχον ἑαυτον ειναι γραψας, κυβερνητην οντα." (De Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 2.--409.) Strabo ſtyles him, "Ουκ Αλεξανδρου μαλλον ἡ των παραδοξων Αρχικυβερνητην." and adds, "Υπερβαλλεσθαι δε δοκει τους τοσουτους εκεινος τη τερατολογια." Strabo, Lib. 15.--1022.

[n] "Ηγησιας τε ὁ ρητωρ, ὁς ηρξε τω Ασιανου λεγομενου ζυλου, παραφθειρας το καταδεσηκος εθος το Αττικον." Strabo, Lib. 14.--959.

like a courtezan, every artifice to enliven the paſſions that habitude hath palled. He was an orator and an hiſtorian, two profeſſions which form at all times a dangerous combination, where a correct taſte is not generally eſtabliſhed, and its limits perfectly defined. His orations were equally faulty in ſentiment and in expreſſion; and when he exerciſed himſelf on hiſtory, his ſtyle was broken and unequal, and full of puerile embelliſhments. [o] Photius hath preſerved ſome fragments of Agatharcides, in which he had *keenly* cenſured the works of Hegeſias, and ridiculed both his deſcription of the ſiege and capture of Thebes, and his method of deploring the misfortunes of its inhabitants. "Adverſity rendered the place mute that was vociferous."—"Thou haſt acted, Alexander, in deſtroying Thebes, as if Jupiter had torn the moon from one quarter of the heavens."——"The Macedonian phalanx having entered the walls of Thebes, ſword in hand, deprived the city of exiſtence: here was its grave, there was death." [p]

It

[o] This is nearly Cicero's opinion. "Et is quidem non minus ſententiis peccat quam verbis." (De orat. 67. Tom. 1.–478.) "Charifii vult Hegeſias ſimilis eſſe. At quid eſt tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipſâ, quam tamen conſequitur, concinnitate puerile." (De claris oratoribus, 83. Tom. 1.--406.) Plutarch hath handed down to us one of theſe puerile conceits relative to the temple of Diana at Epheſus, which was burnt in the night that Alexander was born. "Εικοτως γαρ εφη καταφλεχθηναι τον νεων, της Αρτεμιδος αχολουμενης περι την Αλεξανδρου μαιωσιν" The obſervation that he makes is, "Επιφωνημα κατασβεσαι την πυρκαιαν εκεινην ὑπο ψυχριας δυναμενον." (De vit. Alex. Plut. opera, Tom. 1.–665.) I do not know whether the obſervation on the ſentiment, or the ſentiment itſelf, is moſt exceptionable.

[p] "Τον γαρ μεγιςα φωνησαντα τοπον, αφωνον ἡ συμφορα πεποιηκε"———— "Ομοιον πεποιηκας, Αλεκανδρε, Θηβας κακασκαψας, ὡς αν ει ὁ Ζευς εκ της κατα Ουρανον μεριδος εκβαλοι την σεληνην"————

"H

It is not without ſome reaſon, that Agatharcides hath obſerved, this miſerable ſophiſt appears to have mentioned this event rather to diſplay his own wit, than to commiſerate the lamentable fortune of the Thebans. [q]

Longinus tells us, that Hegeſias appeared in his own opinion to conſider himſelf as inſpired, but inſtead of being influenced by any divine impulſe, he trifled like a child; [r] and in ſhort, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus pretends, that there is not a ſingle well-turned period in all his works. [s] A fragment is ſelected on the ſiege of Gaza and puniſhment of Betis, as an example of his poverty of ſtyle; and he compares his relation of the tragical end of Betis, with Homer's account of the ignominious treatment of Hector's dead

[p] "Η δε φαλαγξ των Μακεδονων εισβιχσαμενη τοις ὁπλοις εντος τειχους την πολιν απεκτενεν· εχει μεν ταφη πολεως, εντευθα δε θανατος·"——— (Photii Bibliotheca, 1336. 1337. Fol. Rothomag. 1653.) The three paſſages are here given in the ſame order as the reader will find them on a reference to Photius. The Baron de St. Croix had tranſpoſed them. "Arracha la vie à cette ville," are the words of the French tranſlation. The Greek original may bear the hyperbole, but I have ſoftened the expreſſion.

[q] "Εμοι μεν ουν σκωπτειν και ὁ σοφιςης δοκει δια τουτων ουκ ολοφυρεσθαι των πολεων την τυχην·" (Photii Bibliotheca, 1336.) Himerius ſeems to have copied Hegeſias in his deſcription of the capture of Thebes, (Photii Bibliotheca, 1080.) but the exploits of Alexander have been a fruitful ſubject for general declamation. The rhetorical flouriſhes of the elder Seneca, "Deliberat Alexander an oceanum naviget." (Suaſor, Tom. 3. Amſt. 8vo 1672.) "Deliberat Alexander an Babyloniam intret, cum denuntiatum eſſet illi reſponſo auguris periculum." (Suaſor, 4. Tom. 3.) are well known.

[r] "Πολλαχυ γαρ ενθυσιαν ἑαυτοις δοκουντες υ βακχευουσιν αλλα παιζουσιν·" Dion. Longinus, Sect. 3.

[s] "Ενγουν ταις τοσαυταις γραφαις ὡς καταλειλοιπεν ὁ ανηρ, μιαν ουκ αν ἑυροι τις σελιδα συγκειμενην ευτυχως·" Dion. Halicarnaſſ. de ſtructurâ orationis. 144.

dead body by Achilles, in the Iliad, which the Magneſian ſophiſt had ridiculouſly imitated.[t] Q. Curtius[u] ſeems not to have ſuffered this work of Hegeſias to have eſcaped his attention: he hath, notwithſtanding, touched on the event without entering into any of its diſguſting circumſtances. Clitarchus, the ſon of Dinon, acquired ſome reputation in his own times, by the publication of his work on Alexander's expeditions; but a bloated ſtyle produces regularly exaggerated facts. "Clitarchus comes under

[t] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus hath given us the paſſage at full length. "Ὁ δε βασιλευς εχων το συνταγμα ωροηγειτο, κ᾽ ωως εβεβελευτο των ωολεμιων τοις χειρισις ωανταν εισιων. τυτο γαρ εγνωσο, κρατησασιν ἑνος συνεκβαλλειν κ᾽ το ωληθ᾽. Η μεν ουν ελπις αὐτη συνεδραμεν εις το τολμαν, ὡστε Αλεξανδρον μηδε ωοτε κινδυνευσαι ωροτερον ὀυτως. ανηρ γαρ των ωολεμιων, εις γονατα συγκαμφθεις, εδοξε τυτ᾽ Αλεξανδρῳ της ἱκετειας ἑνεκα ωραξαι. Προεμεν᾽ δ᾽ εγυς, μικρον εκνευει το ξιφ᾽ ενεγκαντος ὑπο τα ωτερυγια τυ θωρακος, ὡστε γενεσθαι κ᾽ την ωληγην ου καιριωτατην. Αλλα τον μεν αυτος απωλεσε, κατα κεφαλης τυπτων τη μαχαιρα· τυς δ᾽ αλλυς οργη ωροσφατ᾽ επιμπρατο ὁτω γαρ ἑκαστυ τον ελεον εξεσησεν ἡ τυ τολμησαντος απονοια, των μεν ιδοντων, των δ᾽ ακυσαντων· ὡστε ἑξακισχιλιυς ὑπο την σαλπιγγα εκεινην των βαρβαρων κατακοπηναι. Τον μεντοι βασιλεα αυτον ανηγαγον ζωντα Λεωνατ᾽ κ᾽ Φιλωτας. ιδων δε ωολυσαρκον, κ᾽ μεγαν, ὡς βδελυρωτατον· μελας γαρ ην κ᾽ το χρωμα· μισησας ἐφ᾽ οις εβεβελευτο, κ᾽ το ειδος, εκελευσε διᾳ των ωοδων χαλκεν ψαλιον διειραντας, ἑλκειν κυκλω γυμνον. Πιλεμεν᾽ δε κακοις ωερι ωολλας τραχυτητας εκραζεν. αυτο δ᾽ην ὁ λεγω, το συναγον ανθρωπας. επετεινε μεν γαρ ὁ ωονος, βαρβαρον δ᾽ εβοα δεσποτην, κ᾽ ἱκετευων· γελαν δε ὁ σολοικισμος εποιει. το δε στεαρ κ᾽ το κυτος της γαστρος, ενεφαινε Βαβυλωνιον ζωον ετερον ἀδρον. ὁ μεν ουν οχλ᾽ ενεπαιζε, στρατιωτικην ὕβριν ὑβριζων, ειδεχθη κ᾽ τω τροπω σκαιον εχθρον." (De ſtructurâ orat. 146.) But I do not find the obſervation that "Il compare cette maniere de raconter les faits aux traitemens ignominieux qu'Achille fait eſſuyer au corps d'Hector," is well founded, and I have therefore adopted the ſenſe of the Greek original. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus drew only a parallel between the two deſcriptions of the puniſhment of Betis, and the indignity offered to Hector's body; and had no intention whatever of comparing the ſophiſt's manner of relating facts, to the diſgraceful conduct of Achilles. He adds indeed and with ſtrict juſtice, "Ὡς δε ὁ Μαγνης ειρηκεν, ὡς ὑπο γυναικων η κατεαγοτων ανθρωπων λεγοιτ᾽αν, και ουδε τετων μετα σπευδης, αλλ᾽επι χλευασμω και καταγελωτι." De ſtructurâ orat. 153.

[u] Q. Curtius, Lib. 4. C. 6.

under this cenſure," ſays Longinus, "ſtill more, who bluſters and blows, as Sophocles expreſſes it,"

"Loud ſounding blaſts, not ſweeten'd by the ſtop."[x]

The judicious author of the treatiſe, attributed to Demetrius Phalereus, hath confirmed with his authority the opinion of Longinus, and hath laughed at this writer's unnatural conceits and pomp.[y] Cicero expreſsly reproaches Siſenna[z] with his puerile manner, and declares that this Roman chronicler ſeemed, of all the Greek authors, to have been only acquainted with Clitarchus, whom he had imitated, and whoſe defects included in all likelihood, that glare, which hath been improperly termed ingenuity, and which hath often corrupted talents of more than common expectation. The narrative of Clitarchus was moſt probably full of this ſeductive glitter, ſo fatal to the progreſs of letters, and

[x] Smith's Longinus, 10. "Και ετι μαλλον Κλειταρχε· φλοιωδης γαρ ὁ ανηρ, και φυσων κατα τον Σοφοκλεα,

Ου σμικροις μεν αυλισκοισι—
————φορβειας δ'ατερ." Longinus, Sect. 2.

Cicero in his epiſtles to Atticus, (Lib. 2. Epiſt. 16.) hath cited the whole paſſage.

"Φυσα γαρ ᾳ σμικροισιν αυλισκοις ετι,
Αλλ'αγριαις φυσαισι φορβειας δ'ατερ·"

[y] A pompous deſcription of the waſp or hornet is particularly cenſured. "Ὁ Κλειταρχος περι της τενθρηδονος λεγων, ζωε μελισση εοικοτος, κατανεμεται, μεν φησι, την ορεινην· εισιπταται δε εις τας κοιλας δρυς·— ὡσπερ ωερι βοος αγριε η τε Ερυμανθιε καπρε λεγων, αλλ'ουχι ωερι μελισσης τινος·" Demetrius Phalereus, Sect. 330. 331.

[z] "Is tamen neque orator in numero veſtro unquam eſt habitus, et in hiſtoriâ puerile quiddam conſectatur: ut unum Clitarchum, neque præterea quemquam, de Græcis legiſſe videatur: eum tamen velle duntaxat imitari." Cicero, de legibus, Lib. 1. Sect. 2. Tom. 3.--117. Ed. Olivet. 4to 1740.

and always announcing their decline; and it is perhaps in this ſenſe, that Quintilian is to be underſtood, when he informs us that this hiſtorian of Alexander was admired for his genius, though his veracity was univerſally decried. [a]——But the Rhetoricians arrogated to themſelves, if we are to believe Cicero, [b] the privilege of lying with impunity, from the avowed motives of giving ſpirit to their works; and Clitarchus juſtifies the propriety of the obſervation, as may be proved from many inſtances, that Strabo, Pliny, and a crowd of the ancient authors have recorded of him. ——All theſe fabulous traditions, exaggerated facts, hyperbolical and improbable relations, with the imaginary deſcriptions of battles and of ſieges, that Alexander's hiſtorians adopted, were in general borrowed from Calliſthenes, Hegeſias, Clitarchus, Oneſicritus, Megaſthenes and Daimachus, and they were more eagerly reſorted to from the corruption of the public taſte, and the numerous admirers of ſuch extravagances, whoſe clamorous applauſes overpowered any cenſures of their folly and abſurdity. ——It is not undoubtedly from this tribe of writers that we are to be ſupplied with any faithful memoirs of the life and actions of Alexander.——They will form a ſeparate and diſtinct claſs, which muſt be afterwards conſidered.——Let not however the moſt audacious Pyrrhoniſm pretend to confound the authentic monuments

[a] "Clitarchi probatur ingenium fides infamatur." Quintil. Inſt. orat. Lib. 10. C. 1.--500. Ed. Geſner. 4to. 1738.

[b] "Conceſſum eſt rhetoribus mentiri in hiſtoriis, ut aliquid dicere poſſint argutiùs. ——Sic Clitarchus." Cicero, de claris oratoribus. Sect. 11. Tom. 1.--345.

monuments that have been left us, with thoſe, which adulation and a love of the marvellous have alone erected. Without endeavouring to diſcriminate truth and falſehood, but willingly acquieſcing in the malicious inclination of blending them both together, let us not ſuppoſe the exploits of the conqueror of Aſia to have been as fabulous as the labours of Hercules; nor give credit to what has been aſſerted in a moment of paradoxical delirium, that the Macedonian hero never penetrated into India.

The memoirs of Ptolemy and of Ariſtobulus, deſerve the firſt places amongſt thoſe works which have any pretenſions to diſtinction: having been eye-witneſſes of the facts, which they relate, theſe two generals of Alexander's army delayed their publications till this Prince's death, in order that flattery might not have any undue influence over them; and that truth might appear in their relations without either reſtriction or diſguiſe. Theſe prudential reaſons, which we have on the faith of Arrian,[c] refute at once Lucian's ſtory, that Alexander having liſtened to Ariſtobulus's account of his combat with Porus, enraged at ſuch a maſs of fables, ordered him to be thrown into the Hydaſpes, crying out, "Thus ought you to have been ſerved yourſelf, for pretending to deſcribe my battles, and killing half a dozen elephants

[c] "Εμοι Πτολεμαιος τε και Αριστοβουλος υστεροι εδοξαν ες την αφηγησιν· ὁ μεν, ὁτι συνεστρατευσε βασιλει Αλεξανδρῳ, Αριστοβουλος, Πτολεμαιος δε, υστερος τῳ ξυστρατευσαι, ὁτι και αυτῳ βασιλευοντι αισχροτερον η τῳ αλλῳ ψευσασθαι ην, αμφω δε, ὁτι τετελευτηκοτος ηδη Αλεξανδρου ξυγγραφουσιν, ὁτε αυτοις ηδη αναγκη και ὁ μισθος του αλλως τι, η ὡς συνηνεχθη, ξυγγραψαι ην." Arrian. Præfat. Exp. Alex. 2.

with a ſingle dart."[d]——Lucian moſt probably intended to allude to Oneſicritus, as he mentions a few pages afterwards, a converſation[e] of the Macedonian Monarch's with this philoſopher, in which he animadverted on the fulſome flattery of his biographers; and appeared anxious to know the ſentiments that poſterity would entertain of him, and of his actions. Alexander, it is well known, carried Oneſicritus along with him as his hiſtorian, and the name of Ariſtobulus may have been inſerted inſtead of that of the cynic philoſopher, from ſome miſtake of the author or his copyiſts.——This conjecture ſeems to be ſtrengthened alſo by what Lucian ſays of the age of Ariſtobulus, who reached the extended period of ninety years, and with a wonderful ſtrength of underſtanding, entered on the compoſition of his hiſtory at eighty-four.[f] Is it credible that Ariſtobulus at this advanced age, could have followed the Conqueror of Aſia over ſuch immenſe regions to the banks of the Hydaſpes?

A journal of Alexander's exploits, had been reduced into form by Diodotus of Erythrya, and by Eumenes of Cardia, who ſhared with Hephæſtion the favours of his maſter, and was one of the ableſt

[d] Franklin's Lucian, Vol. 2.--277. 8vo Edit. "Και σε δε ὑτως εχρην, ω Αριστοβουλε, τοιαυτα ὑπερ εμε μονομαχουντα, και ελεφαντας εν ακοντιω φονευοντα." Lucian. Quomodo. Hiſt. conſcribenda ſit. Sect. 12. Tom. 2.–17.

[e] Lucian. Quomodo. Hiſt. conſcribenda ſit. Sect. 40. Tom. 2.–54.

[f] Et compoſa ſon hiſtoire à 80. "Την ἱστοριαν δε τεταρτον και ογδοηκοστον ετω γεγονως ηρξατο συγγραφειν." (Lucian. Macrobii, Sect. 22. Tom. 3.–224.) which I have followed.

ableſt and moſt unfortunate generals of his age. If we are to judge of this work, by the numerous fragments of it in ſeveral authors of antiquity;[g] it was both a very accurate and circumſtantial narrative of the public and private life of the Macedonian Prince.

The itinerary of Alexander's army, by Diognetus and Beton, employed by this Monarch in the meaſurement of his marches, and the ſurvey of the countries, that he paſſed through, would naturally have thrown a conſiderable ſhare of light on the expeditions of the Conqueror of Aſia, and the geography of the Eaſt. But this valuable work, which was not indeed neglected either by Ariſtobulus or Ptolemy, hath not eſcaped the ravages of time; and the deſcriptions, which Alexander directed to be made of the different provinces of his empire by able and experienced perſons, have been equally unfortunate.—Patroclus aſſures us, that theſe memoirs had been communicated to him by Xenocles the King's treaſurer;[h] and it is doubtleſs of theſe papers that the illuſtrious Corſini thus expreſſes himſelf, "The very exact deſcriptions, which Alexander directed to be made of his conqueſts, would have been of vaſt ſervice to geography, and rendered it much more perfect."[i]

[g] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 25.—Plutarch, Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.–706.—Sympoſiacon. Lib. 1. Tom. 2.--623.—Athenæus, Lib. 10.--434.—Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 3. C. 23.

[h] Strabo, Lib. 2. Tom. 1.–120.

[i] "Les deſcriptions exactes qu'Alexandre eut ſoin de faire de ſes conquêtes, donnerent une

forme

It is even reaſonable to imagine, that a collection of Alexander's letters remained long after his death; at leaſt it muſt be allowed, that many of them had been made public, as they are cited by a number of the ancient authors. [k] If this correſpondence had deſcended to us, it would certainly have placed in a ſtill clearer point of view the military actions of this Prince, and unfolded to us more diſtinctly, the ſecret motives, that influenced his conduct, his manners and his character. Patroclus, Eratoſthenes and Strabo, had ſeverally made their obſervations on the hiſtorians of Alexander, but theſe treatiſes have alſo periſhed. Their labours would probably have rendered any other attempts of this kind uſeleſs; and the age, in which they lived, undoubtedly afforded them ſuperior advantages for ſuch diſcuſſions. The fabulous traditions, which deſcend from one generation to another, gradually obſcure the light of truth; our efforts to diſcover it are enfeebled by our diſtance from the different events; the gloom augments; doubts accumulate; ſyſtems riſe; our difficulties increaſe; and we loſe even by the flux of time thoſe ſuccours, with which it is impoſſible to be again ſupplied.

Cephalon, a native of Gergetha [l] in the Troad, abridged univerſal

ſorme beaucoup plus parfaite à la geographie." De l'origin. et des progrès de l'Aſtronom. Acad. des Sciences Anc. Mem. Tom. 8.--13.

[k] Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Tom. 1.--688. 689. 691. 696. 697.
——— Vit. Phocion. Tom. 1.--749.
——— De ſui laude. Tom. 2.--545.
Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 24.--534.

[l] Strabo, Lib. 13. Tom. 2.--882. Suidas hath confounded him with Cephalon the Rhetorician,

verſal hiſtory; and the work was diſtinguiſhed by accuracy and by preciſion. Every digreſſion was ſtudiouſly avoided in it, and every recital that had not an immediate connection with the facts, that he had to explain or to deſcribe. This hiſtory written in the Ionic dialect, and after the manner of Herodotus divided into nine books, each of which bears the name of one of the Nine Muſes, was the fruit of unwearied application and immenſe reſearches. The laſt book, which had the title of Erato,[m] contained the exploits of the conqueror of Darius, and had been extracted with Herculean perſeverance from no leſs than thirty different authors. What a rich banquet might it not have furniſhed?

A compariſon of different and various evidence is the ſoul of rational inquiry.——Truth often riſes amidſt the ſhock of contending and contradictory opinions; whilſt impoſture acquires its only credit from the careleſs ſilence, or the accommodating concurrence of hiſtorians. Sopater made great uſe of Cephalon's abridgment in his account of Alexander, but even his reſearches have

cian, who lived under Adrian. Vide Suidas, Tom. 3.–305. Κεφαλιων. and alſo Voſſius, de hiſt. Græcis. Lib. 11. Chap. 12.

[m] "Le dernier livre intitule Uranie." I have corrected this error, for on turning to the paſſage in Photius, which was referred to, the Greek ſentence appeared to me to be evidently miſtaken; "Συμπεραινεται δε αυτῳ ἡ ἱϛορια εν λογοις θ', κατ'επωνυμιαν των θ'Μϖσων, Κλειϖς, Θαλειας, Πολυμνειας, Μελπομενης, Τερψιχορης, Ευτερπης, Καλλιοπης, Ερατϖς, Ουρανιης, εἰ ἡ (that is ἱϛορια) και τα κατα Αλεξανδρον τον Μακεδονα διειξεισιν." (Biblioth. 101.) I was happy afterwards to find I had the beſt of all authorities, the authority of Photius himſelf, for this conſtruction. Speaking of Sopater, he ſays, "Ὁ δικατῳ δε συνηθροισθη εκ τε τϖ Κεφαλιωνῳ Ερατϖς, διαλαμβανϖσης τα κατα Αλεξανδρον." Biblioth. 341.

have not reached us. Chares, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Hecateus of Eretria, Duris of Samos, Nearchus and Timogenes have a juſt claim to the character of authentic writers, and their teſtimony is unexceptionable. If their ſucceſſors had formed themſelves after their example, and had employed the materials which they left them, we ſhould have had great reaſon to have applauded their diſcernment; but the farther they deviated from theſe indiſputable records, the more their authority becomes ſuſpected.——In taking a view of what is not to be doubted on the ſubject of Alexander's hiſtorians, it may be neceſſary to enter into ſome circumſtances relating to them.

Arrian of Nicomedia[n] lived under Adrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Antoninus;[o] and from having frequented the ſchool of Epictetus he was a zealous advocate for its tenets. The ſame maſterly hand, which ſketched out the moral diſſertations of Epictetus, is eaſily perceptible in the hiſtory of the Macedonian Conqueror; and even the ſpeech, which Arrian puts into the mouth of Dandamis,[p] contains many of the ſentiments, which are to be met

[n] See Tillemont. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. 4.--453. Ed. 12mo and alſo Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græc. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.

[o] Photii Bibliotheca. 53.—Euſebius Chron. Canon. Suidas. Ἀρριανός. Tom. 1.--320.

[p] "Dans la bouche de Calanus." There is a ſort of conſtitutional vivacity, which ſometimes hurries away men of real erudition, and occaſions them a multitude of inadvertencies. With the French, this lively volatility is remarkable, and enters largely into the mercurial character of the nation. It is into the mouth of Dandamis that Arrian hath put this ſpeech, and Calanus is

met with in the collection of thoſe of the Stoic Philoſopher.[q] The moſt celebrated cities took an early opportunity of acknowledging his merit, and of enrolling him amongſt their citizens.—Athens and Rome conferred this honour on him;[r] and the latter intruſted him with the command of a body of its forces. The government of Cappadocia was given to him; and his courage and capacity were equally conſpicuous in the protection of the Province from the Alani,[s] who made an irruption into Aſia Minor, in the 17th year of the reign of Adrian, and 134 years after Chriſt.——Arrian's ſervices were afterwards rewarded with the Conſular dignity.[t]

The

is only celebrated for the firm and undaunted manner, in which he voluntarily committed himſelf to the flames, on the approach of infirmity and ſickneſs; "Περιν τινος ἐς πειραν ελθειν παθηματος, ὁ, τι περ εξαναγκαση αυτον μεταβαλλειν την προσθεν δικιταν." Arrian hath fairly ſtated, "Ον τινα μαλιστα δη αὐτου ακρατορα Μεγασθενης ανεγραψεν." but his method of winding up the affecting tragedy, "Ουτω δη επιβαντα τη πυρα, κατακλιθηναι μεν εν κοσμω, ὁρασθαι δε περις της σρατιας ξυμπασης.—Ταυτα και τοιαυτα ὑπερ Καλανου του Ινδου ἱκανοι αναγεγραφασιν, ουκ αχρεια παντα ες ανθρωπους, ὁτω γνωναι επιμελες, ὁτι ὡς καρτερον τε εςι και ανικητον γνωμη ανθρωπινη ὁ, τι περ εθελοι εξεργασασθαι." (Lib. 7. Chap. 3.--481, 482.) ſeems to intimate that he did not altogether agree in opinion with Megaſthenes.

Strabo hath given a long account of theſe ancient Bramins, but Dandamis hath there the name of Mandanis. Lib. 15. Tom. 2.--1042, 1043. 1044.

[q] Epictetus, Tom. 1. Lib. 1. Chap. 25.

[r] Arrianus de venatione. C. 1.--190. Ed. 8vo Amſt. 1683.—Lucian Pſeudomant. Tom. 2.--209.

[s] Without any diminution of Arrian's merit, we are informed by Dion. Caſſius, that the perſuaſive arguments of Volgæſius had alſo their influence: "Των Αλβανων τα μεν ΔΩΡΟΙΣ ὑπο του Ουολογαισου πεισθεντων, τα δε και Φλαβιον Αρριανον τον της Καππαδοκιας αρχοντα φοβηθεντων." (Lib. 69. 15. Tom. 2.--1163.) The Alani are here called "Των Αλβανων," and there is a very learned note upon the paſſage.

[t] Suidas. Αρριανος. Tom. 1.--320.—Photii Bibliotheca. 53.

The philoſopher contemplates the conduct, the manners, and the genius of mankind, and takes into conſideration the motives of human actions with the means, that are employed in their execution: his ſcrutinizing eye develops the riſe, the progreſs and the fall of empires; but ſome military knowledge, joined to practical experience, ſeems neceſſary to deſcribe the march of armies, and the operations of victorious generals. Few perſons perhaps poſſeſſed theſe qualifications in a ſuperior degree to Arrian; and his treatiſe upon tactics is an excellent abridgment of all that Greece knew upon the ſubject.[w] The details, on the regulation and evolutions of the phalanx, into which he enters, are juſtly the admiration of all military men[x] for their perſpicuity and preciſion; and the fragment, which remains, relating to his march and the order of battle againſt the Alani, evidently proves that he had taken up his theory from real ſervice. Knowledge and talents of ſuch magnitude are not eaſily concealed, and they diſcover themſelves in the whole hiſtory of Alexander. Yet it is extraordinary, that the luminous manner, in which Arrian hath explained the manœuvres of the Macedonian army, hath even called his veracity in queſtion. An able profeſſional writer hath had the boldneſs to advance, that Arrian endeavours to give leſſons upon tactics at the expence of truth, in the deſcription of the battle of Gaugamele that he hath left us. "If our account of this battle," ſays he, "was a real exerciſe on the art of war, the application

[w] See the preface of Monſ. Guiſcard to his tranſlation of Arrian's Tactics. 49.

[x] Memoires militaires des Grecs et Romains, par Monſ. Guiſcard, Diſc. Prelim. 38.

application of all its grand principles could not be better brought before the eye."[y]——But becauſe an army, when oppoſed to an undiſciplined multitude upon equal ground, is ſaid to have made the moſt judicious movements; are we to infer from this ſimple circumſtance, that the account, which hath been given us by a maſter in the art of war, is the fruit only of his imagination, and the mere reſult of his own ſyſtems? Monsr Guiſcard adds, "That he ſhould never have attempted to doubt the authenticity of the circumſtances of this battle, if Polybius had not treated the account of the battle of Iſſus by Calliſthenes in the ſame manner."[z] ——If Polybius hath however detected the impoſitions of Calliſthenes, does the concluſion follow, that Arrian, who had the advantage of the memoirs of the generals of Alexander's army, hath forged what he related? With more juſtice poſſibly he may be open to ſome cenſure on his exceſſive vanity. It is indeed with ſingular oſtentation, that he tells us there was not any neceſſity of his mentioning himſelf; that his birth, his country, and employments, were all well known; and in ſhort, that he ſtood as high amongſt the Grecian writers of eminence, as Alexander

y. "Cette bataille," ſays he, "fut-elle un vrai thème pour la theorie de l'art de la guerre? Tout cela ne preſenteroit pas mieux ſous un ſeul coup d'œil, l'application de ces grands principes." Memoires milit. ſur les Grecs et les Romains, Tom. 1.--181.

z "Qu'il ne ſe ſeroit jamais aviſe de répondre des doutes ſur l'authenticité des circonſtances de cette bataille, . . ſi Polybe ne traitoit pas de même le recit que donne un certain Calliſthene de la bataille d'Iſſus." Mem. milit. &c. &c. Tom. 1.--280.

did in a military line.[a] But perhaps this open and undiſguiſed acknowledgment of his own conſciouſneſs of his literary merit hath ſome little claim to our indulgence.——It may be founded on ſome plauſible pretenſions to general approbation, and is in fact a weakneſs, that increaſes not unfrequently with the reputation, that a writer acquires in the public eſtimation. Arrian concludes his work with the information, that he had not inconſiderately engaged in it, but had been animated by a divine impulſe to the enterpriſe.[b] In this ſpecies of ſuperſtitious enthuſiaſm we diſcover at once the prieſt of Ceres, whoſe functions Arrian had himſelf exerciſed.[c]

Ptolemy, the chief of the Lagides,[d] and Ariſtobulus were the principal guides, that Arrian followed; and Ptolemy ſeems to have had the preference,[e] though he has not copied either of them

a "Το μεν ονομα ουδεν δεομαι αναγραψαι, (ουδε γαρ ουδε αγνωστον ες Ανθρωπους εστιν) ουδε πατριδα ητις μοι εστιν, ουδε το γενος το εμον, ουδε ει δη τινα Αρχην εν τη εμαυτου ηρξα.——————και επι τωδε ουκ απαξιω των πρωτων εν τη φωνη τη Ἑλλαδι, ειπερ ουν και Αλεξανδρος των εν τοις οπλοις. Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 12.--50.

b "Ουδε ανευ Θεου'" Arrian. Lib. 7. Chap. 30.--546.

c See Dodwell, de ætate, Peripli maris Euxini. Sect. 8.

d "Ptolemy's mother was Arſinoe. Being with child by Philip of Macedon, ſhe was married to Lagus, and Ptolemy was in conſequence called the ſon of Lagus. He had a principal command under Alexander, and afterwards obtained the kingdom of Egypt." Pauſanias, Attica. 14. 15.

e "Ως λεγει Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, ὡ μαλιστα εγω ἑπομαι'" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. Chap. 2.-409.

them ſervilely, or without conſideration. He hath extracted alſo from other hiſtorians every thing relating to Alexander, that he thought worthy of preſervation, and not altogether deſtitute of probability, though only founded on report. [f]——This may not be ſtrictly juſtifiable; but the proper moments for inveſtigation are not thoſe of enthuſiaſm, when the fever of imagination runs too high for calm and diſpaſſionate inquiry.

Arrian informs us there was not any perſon that had ſo many hiſtorians, or ſo many contradictory ones as Alexander, and he finiſhes his preface with the following ſentence; "And if any now wonder why, after ſo many writers of Alexander's acts, I alſo attempt the taſk, and endeavour to elucidate the ſame, after he has peruſed the reſt, let him proceed to the reading of mine, and he will find leſs cauſe of wonder than before." [g]——Drawing our obſervations

F 2

[f] "Lorſqu'ils ont rapportè des choſes dignes d'être conſervées, et qui pouvoient paſſer pour croyable, parce que ſelon lui, elles concernoient Alexandre, voila une logique pitoyable." I flatter myſelf I have correctly given Arrian's ſentiments, and I confeſs I ſee nothing of that miſerable logic, with which he is reproached. He does not mean to ſay, that he believed the reports becauſe they related to Alexander, but that they did not appear to be entirely improbable, though founded only on common fame. "Εσι δε ἁ μὴ προς αλλων ξυγγεγραμμενα, ὁτι μὴ αυτα αξιαφηγητα τε μοι εδοξαν, μὴ ϑ πασιν απιστα, ὡς λεγομενα μονον ὑπερ Αλεξανδρϑ, ανεγραψα." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2.) In the learned note on this paſſage in the edition of Arrian's Expeditio Alexandri, 8vo Amſt. 1757. the diſtinction between the "Τα λεγομενα μονον" mere reports, and the "Τα ονται" real facts, is extremely well explained. Tacitus, as is judiciouſly obſerved, hath nearly the ſame idea. "Ut conquirere fabuloſa et fictis oblectare legentium animos, procul gravitate cæpti operis crediderim: ita vulgatis traditiſque demere fidem non auſim." Tacit. 2. 50. 3.

[g] Rooke's Arrian. Preface. Vol. 1.--2. "Ὁσις δε ϑαυμασεται αιϑ' ὁτϑ επι τοσοις δε συνγεγραφευσι, μὴ εμοι επι νϑνηλθεν ἡδε ἡ συγγραφη, τα τε εκεινων παντα τις αναλεξαμενος, μὴ τοισδε τοις ἡμιλεροις ενλυχων, ϋϊλω ϑαυμαξετω."

obſervations from this paſſage along with that, which hath been already alluded to; the real motives, which engaged him to undertake the hiſtory of Alexander, may be gueſſed at.——The work itſelf is divided into ſeven books, but the laſt hath only come down to us in a crippled ſtate. There is a deficiency, though not a very conſiderable one, which muſt have contained the flight of Harpalus, as appears from the abridgment, that Photius hath given us of this book, which in his time was ſtill perfect and unimpaired.

This ingenious critic hath beſtowed very liberal encomiums on Arrian's noble ſimplicity and clearneſs of ſtyle; and conſidering it as a very exact imitation of Zenophon, he will not allow of his being inferior to any of the great writers in hiſtory, that had previouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves.—Photius commends alſo the narrative of Arrian for its preciſion without any tedious digreſſions; though perhaps that, which relates to the military bridges of the Romans, is not entirely clear of this objection. The parentheſes, he adds, do not interrupt the narrative, which hath ſtrong marks of eloquence; and indeed the harangue of Cœnus in the name of the Macedonian ſoldiers, ſatiated with conqueſts and with glory, is certainly both very affecting and pathetic. Photius after having given Arrian a decided preference to all the other hiſtorians of Alexander, finiſhes his account of his writings with the

τω." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. 2, 3.) The Baron de St. Croix would read Ουτε, but Arrian afterwards makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion. "Οσις δε κακιζει Αλεξανδρον——ὅτω δη εκλογιζεσθω." Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 30.–545.

the declaration, that on weighing his merits with thoſe of the ancient hiſtorians in general, many of them will be found unequal to him [h].——Yet it would be uncandid to conceal, that Arrian's inclinations to exalt his Hero, to repreſent as favourably as poſſible thoſe actions of the Macedonian Monarch, which may be juſtly cenſured, and to exaggerate his ſucceſſes, are very evident. —Not ſatisfied with raiſing Alexander above all other conquerors, he aſſures us that he is no leſs illuſtrious than Minos, Eacus, and Rhadamanthus, the ſons of Jupiter; and ſuppoſing even this compariſon of his Hero with the venerable judges of the ſhades ſtill gave too faint an idea of him, he extends it to Theſeus the ſon of Neptune, and Ion, the ſon of Apollo.—Allowing for this momentary glow of enthuſiaſm, Arrian on the whole ſeems to have poſſeſſed a ſound and diſcriminating underſtanding in the diſcuſſion of the ſeveral facts, which he hath related; to have adopted them only after a cautious examination of them; and even in ſome inſtances to have condemned Alexander with ſeverity. On the ſubject of a letter, written by the Prince to Cleomenes, who then commanded in Egypt, in which, though he diſapproved of his conduct, he aſſured him of a pardon not only for thoſe crimes that he had already committed, but for any future

[h] "Photius apres avoir placé Arrian au-deſſus meme de pluſieurs anciens hiſtoriens finit par lui donner la preference ſur tous ceux qui avoient ecrit l'hiſtoire d'Alexandre." The fact is ſubſtantially exact, but is not correctly related. Photius firſt expreſſes himſelf of Arrian, "Ουτος δε συντατ̃ει παντων αμεινον ἡ̃ τα κατα Αλεξανδρον τον Μακεδονα" (Biblioth. 52.) And he finiſhes what he ſays of him with "Και ἁπλως, ει τις κατ'αυτον επι τους ἱστορικους αναχθειη λογους, πολλους και των αρχαιων ιδοι της αυτη ταξεως ἱσαμενους ταπεινοτερον" (Biblioth. 228.) which is the arrangement that I have obſerved.

ture ones, provided he found at his return temples and monuments erected to the memory and in honour of Hœpheſtion, Arrian riſes indignant at ſuch a ſhameful compromiſe, and declares with an honeſt zeal, that he cannot palliate a promiſe of this ſort to ſuch a culprit. But this is not the ſingle inſtance in which he hath reflected on the Conqueror of Aſia: he concludes in the following terms, "And though I take the freedom in this hiſtory of his actions, ſometimes to cenſure him, yet I cannot but own myſelf an admirer of them altogether: I have, however, fixed a mark of reproach upon ſome of them, as well for the ſake of truth, as the public benefit; upon which account, by the aſſiſtance of Providence, I undertook this work." [i]——A few geographical errors occur undoubtedly in Arrian, but if we compare them with the multitude, that all the other hiſtorians have fallen into, they will appear very trivial, and we ſhall be rather ſurpriſed they are ſo trifling and ſo few; conſidering the difficulties, that he had to ſtruggle with, and the intricacies in which his predeceſſors had involved him.—Without any heſitation we may therefore give him a decided preference, and after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a writer, a general, and a philoſopher, he may be juſtly reckoned the firſt hiſtorian of Alexander's actions, and the only one on whoſe authority any confidence is to be placed.

Without

[i] Rooke's Arrian, Vol. 1.--200, 201. "Επει και αυτος εμεμψαμην εςιν ἁ εν τη ξυγγραφη των Αλεξανδρου εργων, αλλ'αυτον γε Αλεξανδρον ουκ αισχυνομαι θαυμαζων· τα δε εργα εκεινα εκακισα, αληθειας τε ἑνεκα της εμης, και ἁμα ωφελειας της επ'ανθρωπους· εφ'ὁτω ὡρμηθην, ουδε αυτος ανευ Θεου, ες τηνδε την ξυγγραφην'" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. Chap. 30.--546.

Without entering into any argument, as to the preciſe time when Plutarch lived; it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that Euſebius mentions this philoſopher in the 224th Olympiad, 120 years after Chriſt; and that the particular circumſtances relating to him, are too well known to be repeated.——His life of Alexander cannot be ſuppoſed by any means to be a regular and continued hiſtory of this Prince's actions; thoſe of great men being in general a ſort of portraits, where the colouring is very high, and the likeneſs hath frequently a brilliancy, which exceeds even that of the original.——The great hiſtorian ſeems to collect facts for the ſole purpoſe of giving lectures on morality, and relates only that he may have an opportunity and a pretence for his reflections. A plan of this nature is inconſiſtent with hiſtorical accuracy, and it hath neceſſarily confuſed his different recitals. The principal public events are often abandoned, or barely touched upon, that more pains may be taken with the private life of the Hero; but it muſt at the ſame time be acknowledged, that the Monarch's inclinations and his character are diſtinctly marked, notwithſtanding the hiſtorian's viſible partiality for him, and the many fables that eſcape from him.——Aware of the probability of being accuſed of an exceſſive minuteneſs in his details; he endeavours to explain away the objection in ſome preliminary remarks, which may ſerve as a preface to the lives of Alexander and of Cæſar. "We ſhall only premiſe, that we hope for indulgence though we do not give the actions in full detail and with a ſcrupulous exactneſs, but rather in a ſhort ſummary; ſince we are not writing hiſtories

but

but lives. Nor is it always in the moſt diſtinguiſhed achievements that men's virtues or vices may be beſt diſcerned; but very often an action of ſmall note, a ſhort ſaying, or a jeſt, ſhall diſtinguiſh a perſon's real character more than the greateſt ſieges or the moſt important battles. Therefore, as painters in their portraits labour the likeneſs in the face, and particularly about the eyes, in which the peculiar turn of mind moſt appears, and run over the reſt with a more careleſs hand; ſo we muſt be permitted to ſtrike off the features of the ſoul, in order to give a real likeneſs of theſe great men, and leave to others the circumſtantial detail of their labours and achievements."[k]

Amongſt many other authors, Calliſthenes, Ariſtobulus, and Oneſicritus appear to have furniſhed Plutarch with his materials for the life of Alexander.——His parallel of this Prince with Cæſar hath unfortunately periſhed, but Appian, who in fact merely compiled his work from Plutarch's hiſtorical productions, hath in ſome meaſure ſupplied the loſs by the compariſon, that he

[k] Langhorn's Plutarch, Vol. 4.--223. "Ουδεν αλλο ποιουμεν, η παρκιτησομεθα τους αναγινωσκοντας, εαν μη παντα, μηδε καθ' ἑκαστον εξειργασμενως τι των περιβοητων απαγγελλομεν, αλλα επιτεμνοντες τα πολλα, μη συκοφαντειν· ουτε γαρ ἱστοριας γραφομεν, αλλα βιους· ουτε ταις επιφανεσταις πραξεσι παντως ενεστι δηλωσις αρετης η κακιας, αλλα πραγμα βραχυ πολλακις και ρημα, και παιδια τις εμφασιν ηθους εποιησεν μαλλον, η μαχαι μυριονεκροι, και παραταξεις αἱ μεγισται, και πολιορκια πολεων· ὡς περ ουν οἱ ζωγραφοι τας ὁμοιοτητας απο του προσωπου, και των περι την οψιν ειδων, οἱς εμφαινεται το ηθος, αναλαμβανουσιν, ελαχιστα των λοιπων μερων φροντιζοντες· ὁυτως, ἡμιν δοτεον εις τα της ψυχης σημεια μαλλον ενδυεσθαι, και δια τουτων ειδοποιειν περι ἑκαστου βιου, εασαντας ἑτεροις τα μεγεθη και τους αγωνας." Plutarch, de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.–664. 665.

he hath left us of the two Conquerors, which is apparently an extract. [1]

Two diſcourſes concerning Alexander remain to be taken notice of, that have been attributed to this philoſophical hiſtorian. In the firſt, the Macedonian Prince is ſuppoſed to anſwer the reproaches of fortune for the obligations, which ſhe had conferred upon him, from whom he is unwilling to acknowledge that he had received any favours. The Monarch is afterwards compared to the moſt eminent philoſophers: his words and actions are ſaid to have been formed on the pureſt principles, and his practice to have been ſuperior to the theory of their firſt and moſt celebrated ſchools.

The ſecond contains only a flat and fulſome panegyric on nearly the ſame ſubject, in the form of a tedious and inſipid diſſertation. Its author is determined to prove his Hero ſuperior to the fickle deity, who is repreſented as Alexander's implacable enemy; but ſome circumſtances are introduced, that have no connection with the object immediately in view, and particularly thoſe concerning Dionyſius of Syracuſe, and Clearchus the tyrant of Heraclea. The Macedonian Monarch is made to rival Agamemnon, and the iſſue of the conteſt may be eaſily divined.

1 "Αμφω γαρ γενεσθην φιλοτιμοτατω τε παντων και πολεμικωτατω, και τα δοξαντα επελθειν ταχυτατω, προς τε κινδυνους παραβολωτατω, και τε σωματος αφειδεςατω, και η ςρατηγια πεποιθοτε μαλλον, η τολμη και τυχη." Appian. Hiſt. Rom. de bellis civilibus. Lib. 2.--849. Ed. 8vo Amſt. 1670. Where the parallel is continued to a great length.

With the ancients indeed, as well as the moderns, this rhetorical figure ſeems to have been adopted, as an eaſier method of adding to their Hero's reputation, or the indirect means of raiſing it at the prejudice of the character, which is brought into competition with it.—Whoever may have been the author of the latter treatiſe, it contradicts moſt certainly Plutarch in many inſtances; and from thence it may be inferred to have been rather ſome later ſophiſt's, who wiſhed to give it ſome little credit by paſſing it on the public for Plutarch's. The catalogue which Lamprias, the ſon of Plutarch, hath given us of all his father's works, in which only one of theſe diſcourſes on the fortune of Alexander, is mentioned, probably a juvenile performance, ſeems to ſtrengthen this ſuppoſition.——From the life of Alexander, Plutarch hath an undoubted right to a diſtinguiſhed rank amongſt this Prince's hiſtorians, and he may juſtly be conſidered as the ſecond author on the ſubject. Many of the tranſactions, which he relates, may be very ſerviceable in determining our opinions of the character of the Conqueror of Aſia; but ſtill the writer's prepoſſeſſions muſt be guarded againſt, and what he advances muſt be received with caution, where the accuracy is of any moment.

Diodorus Siculus, a native of Agyria in Sicily, flouriſhed under Julius Cæſar: any further inquiries concerning his perſon or his writings would be ſuperfluous.[m] Pliny tells us, that he was the firſt Grecian author who turned his thoughts towards ſerious things,

[m] See Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis. Lib. 11. C. 11.—Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Lib. 3. C. 31.

things, and abandoned trifling ones;[n] but this judgment is certainly a ſtrange one, as the firſt five books of this hiſtorian are full of fables. Being ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the doctrines of Euemerus,[o] he ranſacked the annals of various nations, and collected their religious traditions to ſtrengthen only, by their authority, his own erroneous ſyſtem. The firſt books of Diodorus Siculus, precious as they are from the facts which they have preſerved, are ſtill replete with a multitude of conjectures and contradictions, that greatly reduce their value; and in the deſcription of the countries that he mentions, he appears in general both a credulous naturaliſt, and an ignorant philoſopher. Sometimes he doubts apparently of the truth of what he relates, whilſt he does not heſitate immediately afterwards to give credit to the moſt extravagant abſurdities. Under this impreſſion, it is not unfair to ſuſpect his accuracy; and it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that he hath miſrepreſented the ſeveral authors, to whom he was indebted for his information, from the manner that a paſſage of Herodotus relative to the Medes hath ſuffered in his hands, which

[n] "Que cet ecrivain eſt le premier parmi les Grecs, que ſe ſoit occupe de choſes ſerieuſes, et qui ait abandonne les bagatelles." I am in doubt whether the "Apud Græcos deſiit nugari Diodorus, et βιβλιοθηκης hiſtoriam ſuam inſcripſit." (Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 1. Tom. 1.--10.) warrants this aſſertion in its extended ſenſe.

[o] A philoſopher of the Cyrenaic ſect, for an account of whom, ſee Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis, Chap. 11.—De Poetis Græcis, Chap. 8.—Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Tom. 1. Lib. 3. Chap. 28.--694, 717.—Bruckeri, Hiſt. Crit. Philoſ. Tom. 1. P. 2. Lib. 2. Chap. 3. de ſectâ Cyrenaicâ, 604, 606.—and alſo, Dr. Enfield's valuable hiſtory of Philoſophy, Vol. 1. 189. with the authors referred to.

may be compared with the original.[p] We are at a loſs for the motives on which the Roman naturaliſt founded his favourable ſentiments of Diodorus, but perhaps he formed his opinion of the work from its preface. It offers to us, without a doubt, a correct plan of a great ſtyle of hiſtory; but unfortunately the interior parts of the edifice do not by any means correſpond with its external magnificence and grandeur. In the other books, after a long excurſion, he confines himſelf more cloſely to his ſubject, and there are fewer defects to be obſerved, or faults to cenſure. Yet the diſtance between this author and the ancient hiſtorians of Greece is ſtill great, and the interval, that ſeparates them, is immenſe.

The ſeventeenth book relates more particularly to Alexander, but the ſtyle is paltry, and the reflections, though few, are trivial. Diodorus Siculus never refers to any authority for the truth of what he advances; there are not any of the ſources mentioned from whence he derived his intelligence; he is often inexact; and is not happy in the arrangement of his facts. In the firſt part of this book, which contains the events previous to the battle of Gaugamele, more pains have been beſtowed, and more care hath certainly been taken: in the latter, an uncommon degree of negligence is very viſible, and there is great difficulty in diſcovering any connection of the facts, and preſerving the order of the marches

[p] Hiſtoire de l'Acad. des Inſcript. et des Belles Lettres. Tom. 23.--31.

marches and expeditions of the Macedonian army. Chronology is alſo totally overturned, and the chaſm in it naturally augments the obſcurity, that ariſes from this confuſion. The Scythian war, the Sogdian revolt, the death of Clitus with that of Calliſthenes, the marriage of Roxana, and the early part of the Indian expedition are wanting in the text of Diodorus Siculus, and there hath not been any manuſcript yet diſcovered, by which the deficiency hath been repaired.

Truths and falſehoods are generally told in the ſame tone by Diodorus Siculus, who ſeems neither ſolicitous to dazzle, nor anxious to ſurpriſe. If he poſſeſſes the merit of being directed in ſome moments by able and experienced conductors; at others, he hath wandered unconcernedly with Calliſthenes, and hath faithfully copied his fabulous extravagances.[p] Notwithſtanding theſe objections, this part of Diodorus Siculus may be uſeful in aſcertaining many events of Alexander's life; and with a proper and continued attention, ſome real advantages may be reaped from it. Taking the whole together, Diodorus Siculus appears to be entitled to the third place amongſt the Conqueror's hiſtorians.

The Latin authors, who undertook the hiſtory of Alexander, had not the benefit of happier times than the Grecian writers, who

[q] See Diodorus Siculus, Tom. 2.--218. and Weſſeling's note on the "'Ο καλειται μεν Λυθρηδων·" and alſo Tom. 2.--230. with Weſſeling's notes on the "'Οντας ἑκκαιδεκαπηχεις·" and the "Των δε κυνηγων·"

who preceded them in the ſame career, and whoſe materials they employed. That verboſe and tumid ſpecies of eloquence, which paſſed out of Aſia to Athens, and like a malignant ſtar had ſpread its contagious influence [r] amidſt all the young men of ingenuity and talents, made its way at laſt to the Roman citizens, who were then governed with a rod of iron.——A rage for declamation ruined the public taſte, and added to it the laſt corruption, that it could poſſibly receive. Far from imitating the ſchools, where only the figures of the firſt and fineſt forms, and thoſe of the beſt muſcular proportions, are introduced as models, [s] the Romans contemplated in preference the ſervile attitude of ſome effeminate and affected courtier, and eagerly adopted a correſponding frivolous and unmanly method of expreſſion. To the ſpecies of hiſtory immediately before us, the prevailing faſhion was ſoon extended; and the Satiriſt Juvenal addreſſed himſelf to its admirers in the following paſſage.

"What luckier fate
Does on the works of grave hiſtorians wait?
More time they ſpend, in greater toils engage;
Their volumes ſwell beyond the thouſandth page:

For

[r] Ventoſa iſthæc et enormis loquacitas ex Aſiâ commigravit, animoſque juvenum ad magna ſurgentes, veluti peſtilenti quodam ſidere afflavit. Petron. Arbit. Chap. 2.--11.

[s] "An vero ſtatuarum artifices, pictoreſque clariſſimi cum corpora ſpecioſiſſima fingendo, pingendove efficere cuperent, nunquam in hanc inciderunt errorem, ut Bagoam aut Megabyzum aliquem in exemplum operis ſumerent ſibi, ſed Doriphoron illum aptum vel militiæ vel paleſtræ, aliorumque juvenum bellicoſorum et athletarum corpora, quæ eſſe decora vere exiſtimarint."
Quintilian, Inſt. orat. Lib. 5. Chap. 12.–245.

For thus the laws of hiſtory command,
And much good paper ſuffers in their hand."[t]

DRYDEN'S TRANSLATION.

It was perhaps by theſe hiſtorical amplifications that Q. Curtius was ſeduced.——The learned world hath been much divided as to the exact period, in which this hiſtorian lived; and it has been ſuppoſed, though the ſuppoſition can have only few advocates, that he wrote his hiſtory in the laſt years of Conſtantine the Great.[w] Voſſius fixes it with more probability under the reign of Veſpaſian,[x] and the learned Tillemont,[y] in that of Claudius; but without any deciſion of this queſtion, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the ſtyle leaves us not any room to doubt of its being written, when the public taſte was on its decline.

Father Tellier, of ſome memory, accuſes Q. Curtius of having frequently reverſed the order of geography and hiſtory; of an ignorance of tactics; of indiſcriminately ſubſcribing to truth and falſehood without either the inclination or abilities to ſeparate them;

[t] "Veſter porro labor fœcundior, hiſtoriarum
Scriptores: petitur plus temporis atque olei plus:
Namque oblita modi milleſima pagina ſurgit
Omnibus, et creſcit multa damnoſa papyro.
Sic ingens rerum numerus jubet, atque operum lex."

Juvenalis, Sat. 7. Lib. 3.--98.

[w] L'Hiſtorico Ragionamento della gente Curzia et dell'eta di Q. Curzio, del Conte Bagnolo.

[x] G. Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. Lib. 1. Chap. 33.

[y] Hiſt. des Emper. 370.

them; of attaching himſelf rather to probabilities than realities; of affecting little pointed witticiſms, and ridiculous ſubtilties in his maxims; and in ſhort, of laviſhing a profuſion of poetical flowers in his deſcriptions; and converting his harangues into declamations.[z] This is a judgment which carries no inconſiderable ſhare of cenſure, but it is the judgment of a commentator, and we cannot reaſonably tax it with extraordinary ſeverity. Yet we muſt not refuſe to Q. Curtius the merits of a brilliant and fruitful imagination; of a warm and picturesque mode of colouring; and of a grace and energy, which hardly any of the modern languages can make their own.——The ſpeeches of the perſons, that he brings forward on the ſtage, are not ever without intereſt, and they are ſometimes moving and pathetic. Theſe are beauties, which would certainly command our approbation in any other work, where the ſtern auſterity of hiſtory did not conſider them as inadmiſſible.

Q. Curtius ingenuouſly avows, that he hath tranſcribed more events than he believed, and that he meant not to be reſponſible for thoſe of which he doubted, but was unwilling to ſuppreſs.[a] After

[z] "Geographiæ nonnunquam et hiſtoriæ rationes turbaſſe; parum ſcienter in præliis deſcribendis fuiſſe verſatum; non ſatis accurato delectu vera diſcreviſſe â falſis; ſpecioſa magis, quam certiora, ſectatum eſſe; ſententiarum aculeos affectaſſe pluſculum; deſcriptionibus quandoque poeticos flores; orationibus declamatorium colorem adſperciſſe!" Præf. in edit. Q. Curtii, ad uſum Delphini.

[a] "Equidem plura tranſcribo quam credo: nam nec affirmare ſuſtineo, de quibus dubito; nec ſubducere quæ accepi." Q. Curtius, Lib. 9. Chap. 1. Tom. 2.--676.

After ſuch an acknowledged intimation, have we to expect any thing but a monſtrous and mixed aſſemblage of truth and falſehood? Many learned men have imagined that he borrowed moſt of his relations from Diodorus Siculus, but it ſeems more probable, that Clitarchus, an author well known to the Romans, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in Cicero and Pliny, had been equally copied by theſe hiſtorians.——Q. Curtius however only cites him twice: in the firſt inſtance it is to refute Ptolemy. The valuable memoirs of this illuſtrious ſucceſſor of Alexander were then, it ſeems, in being; but led aſtray by his love of the marvellous and a fondneſs for fables, Q. Curtius had given the preference to the recitals of Clitarchus, which agreed more with his own character and genius.

We are told that Nero gilt the ſtatue of Alexander by Lyſippus imagining to enhance its value: [b] Q. Curtius acted on the ſame principle, when he ſuppoſed that the flowers of his imagination would add a freſh wreath of glory to Alexander's laurels. But the Hero and the Artiſt loſt by theſe fooliſh decorations.—— The Roman hiſtorian gives way to an exceſſive paſſion for deſcriptions; and without conſidering whether they are connected with the incidents of which he treats, he frequently introduces

[b] "Fecit et Alexandrum Magnum.—Quam ſtatuam inaurari juſſit Nero princeps, delectatus admodum illa. Dein cum pretio periſſet gratia artis, detractum eſt aurum: pretioſiorque talis exiſtimatur, etiam cicatricibus operis atque conciſuris, in quibus aurum hæſerat, remanentibus." Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 34. C. 19. Tom. 5.--117. 4to Par. 1685.

them abruptly. In endeavouring to make his pictures brilliant they are incorrect: in attempting to enrich them, they become confused. When Lucian, in his directions for historical composition, recommended a sober chastity of expression in the account of mountains and rivers, [c] the ingenious critic in all likelihood had Q. Curtius before his eye, and particularly the episodical details, into which he enters respecting the courses of the rivers Marsyas, [d] Pasitigris, [e] and Zioberis in Hyrcania, [f] which engrossed his attention in preference to events of real consequence. From an insatiable fondness for these descriptions many important circumstances are neglected; and the war between Alexander and the nephew of King Porus is scarcely noticed, [g] though both Arrian and Strabo have mentioned it.—In the last two books, he passes indeed with such rapidity from one transaction to another, that we have reason to apprehend many essential facts have been either totally forgotten, or very much neglected.—— The seasons, in which the different events happened, are only marked

[c] "Μαλιστα δε σωφρονητεον εν ταις των ορων, η τειχων, η ποταμων ἑρμενειας, ὡς μη δυναμιν λογων απειροκαλως παρεπιδεικνυσθαι δοκοιης, κ᾽ το σαυτυ δραν, παρεις την ἱστοριαν." Lucian. Quom. Hist. conscrip. C. 57. Tom. 2.--65.

[d] Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.--52.

[e] ——— Lib. 5. C. 3. Tom. 1.--328.

[f] ——— Lib. 6. C. 4. Tom. 1.--406.

[g] "Hinc Poro amnique superato." (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 1. Tom. 2.--670.) See Freinsheim's note upon the passage.

marked in a vague and obſcure manner,[h] and of the ſeveral years we have not any indication whatever, but this diſorder proceeds from his inaccuracy. Still is he leſs attentive to any geographical information,[i] and his authority in this reſpect may be with ſtrict propriety rejected, whilſt the explication, that he hath given of the eclipſe of the moon, before the battle of Gaugamele, proves inconteſtably his ignorance of the common principles of aſtronomy.[k]—Adding to theſe obſervations the fables and exaggerations

[h] The Baron de St. Croix hath produced the expreſſion of "Sub ipſum Vergiliarum ſidus," (Lib. 5. Chap. 6. Tom. 1.--352.) as one inſtance of the uncertainty and obſcurity of Q. Curtius. The Commentators have been much divided as to this expreſſion, and have doubted, whether the riſing or the ſetting of the Pleiades was to be underſtood. Their ſetting is now generally ſuppoſed to be intended, and indeed the paſſage of Plutarch in his life of Alexander, "Βαλομενος δε τους τραχηλους αναλαβειν (και γαρ ην χειμων& ὡρα) τεσσαρες μηνας αυτοθι διηγαγεν" (Tom. 1.. 686.) ſeems to elucidate it very plainly, as Pliny informs us the "Vergiliarum occaſus hyemem inchoat, quod tempus in 3. Id. Novembris incidere conſuevit." Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 2. Chap. 47. Tom. 1.--200.

[i] "De Curtio non laboramus, ſæpe in geographicis aberrante." Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. Tom. 2.--3. Le Clerc with more ſeverity ſays, "Immania etiam ſunt peccata, quæ in eum admiſit Curtius." Clerici Ind. de Curtio, Ars Critica. Tom. 2.--433.

[k] Monſ. Dupuy remarks that Q. Curtius, "Apres avoir decrit la conſternation qui repandit dans l'armée d'Alexandre une eclipſe de lune, obſerve que les divins Egyptiens, que ce prince fit conſulter, ſavoient fort bien la raiſon de ce phenomene, mais qu'ils tenoient cachée au vulgaire." "At illi," "ce ſont ſes paroles," "qui fatis ſcirent temporum orbes implere deſtinatas vices, lunamque deficere quam aut terra ſubiret, aut ſole pemeretur, rationem quidem ipſis perceptam non edocent vulgus." (Lib. 4. Chap. 10. Tom. 1.--241.) "L'Hiſtorien a-t-il eû une idée bien nette de la cauſe des eclipſes lunaires? Il ſemble, à l'entendre, que la lune peut s'eclipſer en deux cas; ou lorſque "terram ſubit," ou lorſque "premitur â ſole." On peut donner un bon ſens a la premiere expreſſion, parce qu'effectivement la lune s'eclipſe lorſqu'elle paſſe ſous la terre, "terram ſubit," qui eſt entre elle et le ſoleil: mais qu'a-t-il pretendu, lorſqu'il a dit que la lune ſouffre eclipſe "cum ſole premitur," lorſqu'elle eſt preſſée par le ſoleil. Hiſt. De l'Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 29.--324.

The

ſo familiar to him, perhaps there is not a ſingle author of antiquity, that ſhould be read with more reſerve, or with greater care againſt the ſeductions of his language. His evidence for theſe reaſons is to be received with very limited credit, and cannot poſſibly be oppoſed to that of the other hiſtorians of Alexander, and of Arrian in particular.

Juſtin, who may be referred to the age of Antoninus Pius,[1] hath left us an abridgment of the more extenſive compilation of Trogus Pompeius; but he ſigns his own ſentence of condemnation, in his preſervation of the order and method of the original. Confuſion in the narrative, and inaccuracy in the facts are the common faults of this Latin writer, who hath devoted the eleventh and twelfth chapters of his work to the exploits of Alexander. Preciſion

The Jeſuit Rader hath endeavoured to vindicate the hiſtorian, and to explain his meaning. "Curtius non rudis matheſeos, phyſicas rationes adfert defectionis lunæ, unam cum terram ſubit, alteram cum ſole premitur. Una efficit eclipſem, altera ſilentium lunæ. Eclipſis fit in plenilunio, ſilentium in novilunio. Terram ſubit, cum in umbram terræ incurrit, non cum deſcendit ad inferius cælum, infra finitorem, quem Græci Ὁριζοντα dicunt. Solę premeretur, ſicut et ipſa viciſſim ſolem premit, cum ſol infra terram eſt, et luna ſupra recto libramento, cum in umbrâ terræ eſt, unde fortaſſe, eſt quod Lucretius dixit:

"——Et oppreſſum ſolem ſuper ipſâ tenere."

(Lucret. Lib. 5.–762.)

Quamvis Lucretius de terrâ interjectâ loquatur." (Q. Curtius Raderi, 203.) But with all his ſubtilty, though we may allow of the poetic licence of the

"Defectus ſolis varios lunæque labores,"

(Virgil. Georg. Lib. 2.–478.)

in the cold and correct page of Hiſtory, the expreſſion is an aukward one.

[1] G. Voſſius, de hiſt. Lat. Lib. 1. Chap. 31.

ciſion ought indiſpenſably to characterize an abridgment of every denomination, but when he ſpeaks of Alexander's actions, he is extremely ſuperficial. Excluſive of theſe defects, his authority is very queſtionable, in compariſon with that of the other hiſtorians of the Macedonian Monarch, that have been already mentioned, the text is very incorrect; and the names of the towns and people, that he hath introduced, are disfigured to a degree that renders them almoſt unintelligible.

The Lower Empire memorable for its darkneſs, its barbarity and ſuperſtition, hath notwithſtanding produced ſome authors, that have taken notice of Alexander. Exceptionable as their teſtimony is, even when relating to the events, of which they were ſpectators, undoubtedly it deſerves leſs credit reſpecting thoſe, which paſſed in more remote ages, and in times previous to their exiſtence. There is not therefore any light to be procured from them, relative to any public tranſactions before the tranſlation of the ſeat of Empire; and their performances are in general crude and ill-digeſted compilations, ſcraped together without learning, and collected without taſte.

George Syncellus makes Alexander to arrive in the middle of Aſſyria [m] immediately after the engagement at Iſſus, and places Arbela and

[m] "Εν Ισσω της Κιλικιας αυτω πολεμει Δαρειω· και τελευταιον εισω χωρει της Ασσυριας·" G. Syncellus, 210. Folio. Venet. 1729.

and the field of battle known under its name in Media;[n] and assures us, that this Prince having reached Caucasus, reduced all the neighbouring barbarous nations under his subjection as far as the Palus Mæotis,[o] and that after this expedition he extended his conquests over India, and came to the Ganges.[p]——Such is the accuracy of the writers of the Lower Empire!

From the multifarious additions, with which the Lexicon of Suidas hath been gradually loaden, many gross errors have been inserted in it; and as the article of Alexander[q] itself is not exempt

[n] "Η εν Αρβηλοις της Μηδικης ηχθη μαχη·" G. Syncellus. 208.

[o] The French text stands as follows, "Et nous assure que ce prince partit des Palus Mæotis." but Syncellus says, "Γενομενος δε και εν Καυκασω κρατει των αυτοθι βαρβαρων μεχρι Μαιωτιδος λιμνης ελθων·" (G. Syncellus. 210.) which has a very different import, and I have adopted it.

[p] "Κακειθεν μεταχωρησας, επι τους Ινδους παντος τε κρατησας εθνες Ινδικα μεχρι ποταμου Γαγγα παλιν αναξευγνυσι δια τα Ινδα ποταμα μεχρι της Ινδικης θαλασσης." (G. Syncellus. 210.) Both these passages are to be found in the same words in Eusebius, Χρονικων. Lib. 1.--57.

[q] The account of Alexander hath most certainly increased in magnitude and length as it descended. The Baron de St. Croix considers the whole of it from the "Ότι Αλεξανδρος ὁ Μακεδων" to the "Αυτος οκτασιοις ανδρασιν·" (Suidas, Tom. 1.--102.) as an interpolation, and it must be allowed, it bears strong symptoms of suspicion. Roxana, he judiciously observes, is there said to be the daughter of Darius, which is a direct contradiction of what Suidas had before advanced, where she is called the daughter of Oxyartes; that the adventure of Candace is evidently taken from the chronicle of Malala; that the anecdote concerning the music of Timotheus occurs in the same words under "Τιμοθεως," which is the proper place for it; and that the passage respecting the naval victory over the Lacedæmonians, the structure of the wall round the Piræus, and the festival given to the Athenians, as copied from Athenæus, and to be found again in the same words under "Αθηναιος," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--71.) had been applied to Alexander by some ignorant

empt from them, it can be of but little ſervice to us in the hiſtory of this Prince.

Cedrenus hath entered into details of ſome length on the Macedonian Monarch's expedition. And he ſuppoſes him after the reduction of Judea and the capture of Cyrene, to have marched into Egypt, and from thence by a branch of the Nile to have advanced into Aſſyria, preſſed on towards Paropamiſus and the country watered by the Thermodon, and penetrated afterwards to Phaſis,[r] the Straits of Gibraltar, and even into Britain.[s]—— The whole geography of the ancient world is by this means totally deranged, and there is not even the leaſt hiſtorical reſemblance attempted to be preſerved. Amongſt theſe events, he takes care however, to report Alexander's viſit to Jeruſalem, with the

ignorant tranſcriber, (the name of Conon having been accidentally effaced) and afterwards added to Suidas. Kaſter, in his note on the word "Αλεξανδρος," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--103.) admits the falſity of theſe laſt aſſertions, but in that on the word "Αθηναιος," (Suidas, Tom. 1.--71.) he doubts whether Suidas or ſome of his copyiſts are reſponſible for it. "Quæ hic de Alexandro Magno referantur, Athenæus, unde locus Suidæ depromptus eſt, Cononi et quidem recte tribuit. Ratio diverſitatis eſt, quod apud Suidam omiſſa ſint verba quædam (ipſiuſne Suidæ an vero aliorum culpa haud facile dixeris) quæ apud Athenæum leguntur." Theſe interpolations the Baron de St. Croix hath laid to the charge of the writers of the middle age, who borrowed liberally from the oriental authors, and he adds that the contradictory ſtatement of Roxana's birth was an Eaſtern tradition, ariſing from the Perſian name of Rawſhanc (the daughter of Darius, and married to Alexander, according to Abulpharagius) which had been confounded with that of Roxana, from ſome little ſimilitude in the pronunciation.

[r] In Cedrenus, Phaſis is called Aphaſis. "Εκειθεν δε ωρος Αφασιν και Γαδειρα, και τα βρεττανησια εθνη γενομενος." G. Cedrenus, 321.

[s] G. Cedrenus, 151, 152. 153.

the principal circumſtances imagined by the Jews, and with expreſſions,[t] that cannot reaſonably be attributed to Dexippus,[w] devoted to Polytheiſm, of a ſacerdotal family, and a prieſt himſelf ſingularly zealous and attached to his own creed.——Scaliger hath apparently deceived himſelf in the ſuppoſition that the author of theſe recitals was Dexippus; but this great ſcholar did not recollect that Cedrenus only cites[x] this celebrated writer on Alexander's

[t] "Επι την Ιυδαιαν ελθων, και ταυτην ἑλων, ὑπο τυ Αρχιερεως Αδδω τιμηθεις θυσας τω Θεω, ὡς παρ' αυτυ την οικυμενην ωροσειληφως" G. Cedrenus, 121.

[w] Publius Herennius Dexippus lived in the 3rd age of the vulgar era, and was in rotation honoured with all the principal offices at Athens. He was celebrated alſo as a rhetorician and hiſtorian, and acquired a very extenſive reputation from his literary labours. On the ſubject of univerſal hiſtory, his application was unwearied, and with a ſort of intuitive ſagacity he penetrated into the inmoſt and obſcureſt receſſes of antiquity. His children were authorized, by a decree of the Areopagus and the council of 750, to erect a monument to his glory, and the inſcription ſtill ſubſiſts.

"Οικοθεν ἱερεα Παναγη'——
Και αγωνοθετησαντα των μεγαλων Παναθηναιων
Ανδρας αγακλειτυς τετροφε Κεκροπιη
Ὡν ενακας Δεξιππον, ὁς ἱςοριαν εσαθρησας
Αιωνος δολιχην ατρεκεως εφασεν
Και τα μεν αυτος επειδε ταδ' εκ βιβλων αναλεξας
Ἡυρατο ωαντοιην ἱςοριης ατραπον
Η μεγακλεινος ανηρ ὁς νυ απο μυριον ομμα
Εκτεινας, χρονιυς ωρηξιας εξεμαθεν."

Ed. Chandler, Inſcript. Antiq. Pars 2.–56. Oxon. Folio. 1774.

[x] The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that on a compariſon of St. Jerom's tranſlation of the chronicle of Euſebius, with the pretended Greek text, which Scaliger uſhered under his name into the world, the conviction will naturally follow, that many of its ſupplemental parts are flagrant contradictions of Euſebius. Cedrenus, according to his opinion only cites Dexippus concerning the education of Alexander. The learned reader will exerciſe his own judgment on the paſſage,

ander's education, and that the reſt of what relates to this Prince cannot be conſidered as an extract, and much leſs as a fragment

 of

paſſage, with the introductory and following ſentences. "Αρτι δε τυ Φιλιππυ τυ παιδος Αλεξανδρυ επι την ακμην της ηλικιας προελθοντος, οι πρωτοι των Μακεδονων αυτον αιρουνται εις βασιλεια· επι δε εις την αρχην προηλθεν Αλεξανδρος, κατ' αμφοιν το γενος εσεμνυνεν· ουδε γαρ εστιν ευρειν εν παντι τω κοσμω ανδρα τοσυτοις κατορθωμασι πλεονεκτουντα· ως γαρ Δεξιππος ιστορει, πασαν ασκησιν ησκηθη σωματικην Αριστοτελυς γνησιωτατος γενομενος φοιτητης, εις το λογυς αριστος και εις εργα επαινεμενος ευρεθη· τα δε πολεμικα θαυμαστως υπελθων πειθυς αξια διεπραξετο· Βασιλευσας γαρ χρονυς οκτω, τυς Μακεδονας και Ιλλυριας, και Θρακας υπεταξε, την Ελλαδα κατεστρεψε· και τυς τυ πατρος φονεας τιμωρησαμενος, και τους Παιονας αποταξας επι την Ασιαν διαπερα· και την Πριαμυ πολιν, και τας εν Λυδια Σαρδεις υποταξας επι Κιλικιαν αφικνειται·" (Cedrenus. 121.) In Scaliger's edition of the chronicle of Euſebius, the account of Alexander's entry into Judea and his interview with the Jewiſh high prieſt, is there introduced with "Εκ τυ Δεξιππυ· Αλεξανδρος Ιλλυριυς και Θρακας ειλε· Θηβας κατεσκαψε τυ Δαρειυ στρατηγυς επι Γρανικω ποταμυ Λυδων ενικησε, Σαρδεις ειλε· Τυρον επολιορκησεν· Ιυδαιαν προσελαβετο, και τον αρχιερεα Ιαδδυν ετιμησε θυσας τω Θεω ως παρ αυτυ οικυμενην ομολογων παρειληφεναι·" (Κρονικων. Lib. 1.–56, 57.) There is a detail afterwards of many circumſtances concerning the Macedonian Monarch, which is alſo prefaced with the "Εκ τυ Δεξιππυ," and ſwells to ſome extent. I am ignorant of the preciſe authority on which Scaliger ſuppoſed them to be extracts from Dexippus, but being printed within inverted commas, they carry with them every typographical appearance of quotations. In ſupport however of the Baron de St. Croix's opinion, it may be obſerved that the expreſſion "Ως γαρ Δεξιππος ιστορει," does not imply an exact quotation, but in a larger ſenſe may ſignify that the relation correſponded with that of Dexippus. Syncellus alſo firſt ſpeaks of Alexander's entry into Judea and his interview with the Jewiſh high prieſt, without ſaying any thing of Dexippus. To quote the paſſage would be to repeat that already cited from Euſebius, for it is literally the ſame, with the ſingle exception of "Ιαδδυς" inſtead of "Ιαδδυν." He then relates ſome farther particulars of Alexander, and gives a ſort of hiſtory of the Heraclides, and of various other perſons and events, and returning to the Macedonian Monarch, he tells us, "Αλεξανδρος ουν κ αγων ετος, κατα Δεξιππον, πασαν ασκησιν ησκημενος σωματικην, αυτυ τε γνησιωτατος Αριστοτελυς γεγονως του δαιμονιωτος φοιτητης επι την πατρωαν παρηλθε βασιλειαν·" (Syncellus, 210.) It is remarkable that the ſame paſſage occurs in Euſebius, (Κρονικων. Lib. 1--57.) and that the three accounts of Alexander's entry into Judea, and his interview with the Jewiſh high prieſt by the hiſtorians, that have been referred to, are delivered in nearly the ſame words, from which there ariſes a ſtrong inference that they copied them from ſome other writer. The "Θυσας τω Θεω, ως παρ αυτυ οικυμενην, &c." is to be found in all of them, but Cedrenus makes the high prieſt "Αδδω," inſtead of "Ιαδδυν." Euſebius and Syncellus give us "Τον αρχιερεα ετιμησε," but Cedrenus, with a greater allowance for human fears and apprehenſions, hath "Υπο τυ Αρχιερεως τιμηθεις."

of Dexippus, whom Photius [y] hath not ſcrupled to compare with Thucydides.

Paulus Oroſius can only be reckoned the copyiſt of Juſtin, and Zonares [z] in his turn ſeems to have derived his information from Diodorus Siculus. His abridgment however of Alexander's expeditions is not without merit, and is more correct, than might have been expected from a writer of the twelfth century, who quitted a court from ſuperſtitious motives, to bury himſelf within a cloiſter. With the productions of theſe writers, the works of Euſebius of Cæſarea are not to be confounded, and important both to literature and to religion, they have undoubted pretenſions to particular diſtinction. Yet it muſt not be diſſembled, that his diſcernment was not always equal to his erudition. [a]——This laborious writer is not very exact in his chronicle concerning Alexander, and it was after the death of Darius, according to his ideas, that the Grecian Hero made himſelf the maſter of Babylon, [b] notwithſtanding it was previous to the aſſaſſination of the Perſian Monarch. Euſebius informs us alſo, that the Macedonian Prince having ſubdued the Hyrcanians and the Medes, returned and founded

[y] "Εϛι δε την φρασιν απερίλτος τε, και ογκω και αξιωματι χαιρων, και (ὡς αν τις ειποι) αλλ' ου μετα τινος σαφηνειας Θυκυδιδης·" Photii Biblioth. 200.

[z] Zonares. Annales, 137, 148.

[a] "Πολυμαθης δε εϛιν ὁ ανηρ, ει κ' την αϛχινοιαν κ' το ϛαθηρον τυ ηθυς, ὡς παρα την ακριβειαν την εν τοις δογμασιν ενδεεϛερος·" Photii Biblioth. 12.

[b] "Obtinuit Babylonem interfecto Dario." Euſebius, 34.

founded Parætonium [c] in the country of Ammon; but this city was in being before Alexander, [d] and he never returned from the extremities of the Eaſt into Lybia.

Athenagoras, [e] and after him St. Auguſtin [f] and St. Cyprian, [g] relate that Alexander informed his mother by letter, that the prieſts of Heliopolis, of Memphis, and of Thebes, had confeſſed to him, that their gods were originally men, whom they had deified; [h] a ſentiment diſproved by the evidence of the prieſts themſelves, [i] and which could not poſſibly be conciliated with the eſſence of Egyptianiſm.

St.

[c] "Alexander Hyrcanos et Medos capit: revertens in Ammone condidit Parætonium." Euſebius. 34. See Scaliger's note on this paſſage. Scaligeri Animad. ad Euſebium. 126.

[d] Scylax. Peripl. 40. apud geograp. minores. Tom. 1.

[e] Legat. pro Chriſt. ad Cal. St. Juſtin. 325.

[f] De Civitate Dei. L. 8, 6, 27. L. 12, 6. 10.

[g] "Hoc ita eſſe Alexander Magnus inſigni volumine ad matrem ſuam ſcribit. Metu ſuâ poteſtatis proditum ſibi de Diis hominibus â ſacerdotibus ſecretum: quod majorum et regum memoria ſervata ſit, inde colendi et ſacrificandi ritus inſolverit." St. Cyprian, de Idd. Vanit. 9. Amſt. Folio. 1700.

[h] This opinion however hath been formally attacked by one, who hath looked deep into antiquity. "On a pretendu qu'ils avoient etabli pour faire voir que les Dieux etoient tous des hommes, qui avoient eté deifiés a cauſe des ſervices, qu'ils avoient rendûs au genre humain. Mais il faudroit, pour que cela pût etre adopté, qu'on en trouvat de preuves dans l'antiquité, ce qui eſt impoſſible, l'antiquité n'ayant jamais deifié des hommes."
Monde Primitif. par M. Court de Gebelin. 311.

[i] Herodotus. 120. to 132.

St. Clement [k] and St. Cyrill, [l] the patriarchs of Alexandria, accuſe the Pagans with having acknowledged Alexander for their thirteenth deity; but ſuch a rank had never been aſſigned him, and even the Athenians had the reſolution to fine the orator Demades ten talents, for propoſing to inſcribe the Macedonian Monarch in the number of their divinities. [m] It is notwithſtanding very certain, that Alexander's ſucceſſors ordered divine honours to be paid to him, [n] and that the Romans erected temples [o] inſcribed with his name; though there was not, as St. Chryſoſtom [p] hath

[k] "Οι δε γαρ ανθρωπους αποθεουν τετολμηκασι, τρις και δεκατον Αλεξανδρον τον Μακεδονα αναγραφοντες Θεον, ὁν βαβυλων ηλενξε νεκρον" Clement. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. Tom. 1.--77. Oxon. 1715.

[l] "Αλεξανδρον δε τον Φιλιππου τρις και δεκατον εδοκει Θεον ονομαζειν τοις κατ'εκεινο καιρου" Cyrill contra Julianum, Lib. 6. Juliani opera, Tom. 2.--205. Folio. Lipſ. 1696.

[m] The Baron de St. Croix might have added the ſentence of death againſt Evagoras, as related by Athenæus. "Δημαδην δε δεκα ταλαντοις εζημιωσαν, ὁτι Θεον εισηγησατο Αλεξανδρον, και Ευαγοραν δε απεκτειναν, ὁτι πρεσβευων ὡς βασιλεα προσεκυνησεν αυτον" (Lib. 6. 251.) Plutarch hath preſerved a Bon Mot on this occaſion, "Πυθεας ετι μειρακιον ων, παρηλθεν αντερων τοις περι Αλεξανδρου γραφομενοις ψηφισμασιν· ειποντος δε τινος, Συ νεος ων τολμας λεγειν περι τηλικουτων; και μην, Αλεξανδρος, ειπεν, ὁν ψηφιζεσθε Θεον, εμου νεοτερος εστι" (Apothegm.Tom. 2.--187.) Such a ſarcaſtic reply as the Baron de St. Croix hath obſerved, ſeems of itſelf ſufficient to have rendered uſeleſs and ineffectual all the intrigues and eloquence of Demades. Yet he had made rather a ſerious appeal to the Athenians. "Videte," inquit, "ne dum cælum cuſtoditis, terram amittatis." (Val. Max. Lib. 7. 62.--638. 4to Leid. 1726.) Lucian however, ſtill ſeems to intimate it, "Ενιοι δε και τοις δωδεκα θεοις προσιθεντες, και νεως οικοδομουμενοι και θυοντες." Lucian. Dial. Mort. 13. Tom. 1.--391.

[n] La Diſſertation de Monſ. L'Abbe Belley. Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et des Belles Lettres. Tom. 32.--685. See alſo Barthius ad Statium. Tom. 1.--403, 404.

[o] It was in one of theſe temples that Alexander Severus was born according to Lampridius. "Alexander nomen accepit, quod in templo, dicato apud Arcenem urbem Alexandro Magno, natus eſſet." Hiſtoriæ Anguſtæ Scriptores. Tom. 1.--889.

[p] Homil. 26. in Epiſt. ad Corinthios.

hath aſſerted, any obligation by a decree of the Senate, to offer him adoration as their thirteenth deity. The worſhip of the deities of other nations was in fact often prohibited at Rome, ſometimes barely tolerated, and reſpectful allowances are to be made for writings, in which ſuch things are recorded, without either an outrage to veracity in a culpable ſilence, or inattention to them.

The memory of the exploits of the Macedonian Conqueror is ſtill treaſured up with veneration in the regions of the Eaſt. Both the Perſian, and Arabian authors, often ſpeak of him under the name of Eſcander, and he figures as a principal Hero of their romance. Eldriſi [q] confounds him with Hercules, Abulpharagius and Ebnbatric [r] trace his deſcent from one of the Kings of Egypt; and others affirm that the Empire of Iran, or of the Perſians, became his property by hereditary right, rather than by the force of arms. [s] Amidſt all theſe fables, and a multitude of others, ſome ſhining traits are diſtinctly viſible, which mark the Conqueror of Darius and of Aſia; and many of his actions, though they may have ſuffered alterations, clearly point out the ſplendid Perſonage to whom they were applied.

[q] Eldriſi. Geograph. Nub. 148.

[r] Abulpharagius. Hiſt. Dynaſt. ex Verſ. Pocock. 57.

[s] Mirkhoud. Sect. 20.

SECT.

SECTION. II.

HAPPY are the People, in whoſe annals neither the enterpriſes of an ambitious Prince, nor the exploits of a Conqueror are to be traced, which ſeldom fail of being deplorable misfortunes for the ſubject. The hiſtory of Macedon affords us a ſtriking inſtance of this truth, in the melancholy ſpectacle of the miſery, that followed ſo immediately the moments of its glory.——Philip's power was the fatal ſource of repeated wars and numerous revolutions.——His Succeſſor reaped the fruit of all his toils, and realized with ardour and activity thoſe ideal conqueſts, with which the Macedonian Monarch was occupied, when he died ſuddenly, in the firſt year of the 111th Olympiad, during the chief magiſtracy of Pythodemus,[a] 418 years before the foundation of Rome, and

[a] We have this information from Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 1.--5-6.) but he prefaces it with "Λεγεται δε." The Athenian Archon was the Chief of the nine magiſtrates, and the Athenian year was diſtinguiſhed by his name like the Roman year by that of their conſuls. "Εφοροι δε τοτε αλλα διοικουσι τα σπευδης μαλιστα αξια, και παρεκονται τον επωνυμον; καθα δη και Αθηναιοις των καλουμενων εννεα επωνυμος εστιν ἐις αρχων'" (Pauſanius. Laconic. 231. 232.) Theſe nine magiſtrates

and 336 before the vulgar era. The young Prince took the reins of government into his hands in the following year, according to Diodorus Siculus, when Evenætus was Archon,[b] but this hiſtorian contradicts himſelf afterwards, when he relates that Alexander reigned twelve years and ſeven months,[c] which carries back the time that Alexander became poſſeſſed of the throne of his anceſtors to the fifth month of the chief magiſtracy of Pythodemus.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, refers the commencement of Alexander's reign to the preceding year, when Phrynicus was Archon, in the fourth year of the 110th Olympiad, as he aſſures us that Demoſthenes pronounced his oration on the crown under Ariſtophon, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, and ſix[d] years after Philip's

magiſtrates according to Julius Pollux bore the following names, "Αρχων, Βασιλευς, Πολυμαρχος, ἑξ Θεσμοθεται." (Lib. 8.) Julius Pollux hath alſo given the Archon the addition of "Του ενιαυτου επωνυμος," which Selden hath tranſlated "Anni ſignator." (Marmon. Arund.) The Engliſh reader may learn many particulars of theſe offices from Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Vol. 1.-76. and the ſcholar may be gratified with more curious information by turning to Petit. Leges. Attic. 236. and Budæus, Comment. Græc. Linguæ. 172. &c. &c.

[b] "Επ'αρχοντος γαρ Αθηνησιν Ευαινετου————Αλεξανδρος διαδεξαμενος την βασιλειαν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--161.

[c] "Τον προειρημενον τροπον ετελευσε, βασιλευσας ετη δωδεκα και μηνας επτα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--253.

[d] "Huit ans apres la mort de Philip." Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, in the paſſage referred to, ſpeaking of the oration, "Περι του στεφανου," ſays, "Ουτος γαρ μονος εις δικαστηριον εισεληλυθεν μετα τον πολεμον επ'Αριστοφωντος αρχοντος, ογδοω μεν ενιαυτω μετα την εν Χαιρωνεια μαχην, εκτω δε μετα την Φιλιππου τελευτην" (Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus. Epiſt. ad Ammæum. Tom. 6.--746.) I have corrected the error, but the Greek text is ſo very plain, and the eight years relate ſo very clearly to the battle of Chæronæa, that I muſt confeſs the miſtake created in me ſome little indignation.

Philip's death. This calculation however does not appear to be correct, for Philip died during the magiſtracy of Pythodemus, in the Macedonian month Dius, which was the firſt month of their Solar year, and anſwered to that of Puanepſion in the Attic year. The certainty of this date is aſcertained by the twelve years and eight months, which Arrian allots to Alexander's reign, who died, as we ſhall find afterwards, at the end of the month Thargalion. Eratoſthenes hath alſo ſettled the period of this reign, who reckons thirty-five [e] years between Philip's death and the battle of Leuctra, which happened according to the chronicle of Paros [f] in the chief magiſtracy of Phraſiclides, the ſecond year of the 102[nd] Olympiad, and this evidently fixes Philip's death in the Archonſhip of Pythodemus.

The defeat of the Triballians, the Thracians, the Getæ, the Autoriates, the Tralentians, and of the Agrionians, and the reduction of the different people, who made on the death of Philip an effort to recover their liberty, with ſome flattering expectations from the youth of his Son, were Alexander's firſt exploits. [g]

Both

[e] Ap. Clement. Alex. Strom. Lib. 1. Tom. 1.--402. Apud Morell.

[f] Epoch. 73.

[g] Plutarch hath very briefly given us an account of the difficulties, with which Alexander was embarraſſed on the death of Philip. "Παρελαβε μεν ουν ετη γεγονως εικοσι την βασιλειαν, φθονους μεγαλους κ᾽ δεινα μιση κ᾽ κινδυνους πανταχοθεν εχουσαν· ουτε γαρ τα βαρβαρα κ᾽ προσοικα γενη την δουλωσιν εφερεν, ποθουντα τας πατριους βασιλειας· ουτε την Ἑλλαδα κρατησας τοις ὁπλοις ὁ Φιλιππος, ὁιον καταζευξε κ᾽ τιθασευσαι χρονον εχεν, αλλα μονον μεταβαλων κ᾽ ταραξας τα πραγματα, πολιν σαλον εχοντα κ᾽ κινησιν ὑπο αηθειας, απελιπεν·" Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--670.

Both Diodorus and Plutarch paſs haſtily over theſe expeditions, in which the young Monarch's military talents were firſt unfolded: Arrian is the only writer, that hath extended an account of them to any ſatisfactory length,[h] and it even ſtill includes ſome difficulties. Thrace was the theatre of war, and it is ſcarcely to be conceived, that the Taulentians, the inhabitants of a little tract of country northward of Epirus, ſhould have been expoſed to any miſunderſtanding with Alexander, and ſhould have come from ſuch a diſtance to have joined his enemies. Perhaps by the Taulentians, the Illyrians are to be underſtood, over whom Glaucias the King of the Taulentians had ſtretched his Empire, and who were afterwards conſidered as the ſame people with their conquerors, and diſtinguiſhed by one common name. This conjecture appears to be authorized by the text of Arrian,[i] and hath been adopted by the learned Palmer in his obſervations upon ancient Greece.[k]

The Celtes, whoſe country bordered on the Ionic gulph, now the Adriatic ſea, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Alexander, and in a converſation with them he inquired what was the greateſt object

[h] Arrian, Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6. -- 7, 30.

[i] And it ſeems to be confirmed by what Arrian ſays of the Athenian embaſſy, to congratulate Alexander on his proſperous return from his expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballians. "Ὅτι τε σωος ἐξ Ιλλυριων καὶ Τριβαλλων επανηλθε·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 10.--43.) Thucydides hath alſo called the Taulentians "Ιλλυρικον ἐθνος." Thucydides, Lib. 1.--20.

[k] Palmer Græciæ Antiq. Deſcriptio. Lib. 1. Chap. 18.

of their fears, imagining that the terror of his exploits had already reached them.[l] Of the fall of the ſky, was ſuppoſed to have been their ſpirited reply. This ſtory which Arrian hath extracted from Ptolemy's memoirs, as appears by Strabo,[m] was in all likelihood an epiſode invented as an ornament to the hiſtory of Alexander. It is not probable that theſe Celtes, who were the ancient Boians or Senones, in poſſeſſion of a country inacceſſible in point of ſituation, and at a diſtance from the contending nations, ſhould without any motive have ſent ambaſſadors to court the friendſhip[n] of a Prince, with whom they had not either any connection or concern.

Juſtin[o] relates, that Alexander ſelected the different tributary Kings, whoſe abilities and talents were likely to be formidable to him,

[l] "Τους Κελτικους δε ϗ ηρετο, ὁ, τι μαλιϛα δεδιττεται αυτους των ανθρωπινων, ελπισας ὁτι μεγα ονομα το αυτου ϗ ες Κελτικους ϗ ετι ϖροσωτερω ἡκει·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 4.--20.

[m] "Φησι δε Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου, κατα ταυτην την ϛρατειαν συμμιξαι τω Αλεξανδρω Κελτους τους ϖερι την Αδριαν, φιλιας ϗ ξενιας χαριν· δεξαμενον δε αυτους φιλοφρονως τον βασιλεα, ερεϑαι ϖαρ' τον ϖοτον, τι μαλιϛα ειη ὁ φοβοιντο, νομιζοντα αυτον ειδεναι· αυτους δε αποκρινεσϑαι, ουδενα, ει μη αρα ὁ ουρανος αυτοις επιϖεσοι·" Strabo. Lib. 7.--462.

[n] The Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion is "Seroient ils venus ſans aucun motif proſtituer leur hommage." Arrian does not warrant this idea, by the "Φιλιας δε ϖαντες της Αλεξανδρου εφιεμενοι·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 4.--20.) There is a wide difference between the deſire of a friendſhip and alliance with a Monarch, and the ſlaviſh offer of paſſive and unlimited obedience to him. The latter did not form any part of the Celtic character, and was utterly inconſiſtent with the genius of that bold and warlike nation.

[o] "Reges ſtipendiarios conſpectioris ingenii ad commilitium ſecum trahit: ſegnioris ad tutelam regni reliquit." (Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 5.--265.) If we are to credit Juſtin, Alexander acted on

him, and carried them away with him. Frontinus[p] tells us, that the vanquiſhed princes and even the principal perſons of the conquered countries were taken, on the ſame refined plan of policy, into Aſia, as honourable attendants upon Alexander; but the reſt of the hiſtorians, without any obſervation on the ſubject, paſs it over in profound ſilence.—Policy made it neceſſary for Alexander to aſſure himſelf of the fidelity of Greece by ſome great ſtroke before he quitted it, and the revolt of Thebes, afforded him an ample opportunity, in every reſpect favourable to his wiſhes. The

on a ſtill more barbarous principle, and to enſure the ſafety of his government, cut off without exception all his own family relations, who from a proximity of blood, or their high rank, might have taken the advantage of his abſence and endeavoured to have ſeated themſelves upon his throne. "Proficiſcens ad Perſicum bellum, omnes novercæ ſuæ cognatos, quos Philippus in excelſiorem dignitatis locum provehens, imperiis præfecerat, interfecit. Sed nec ſuis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit; ne qua materia ſeditionis, procul ſe agente, in Macedoniâ remaneret." (Lib. 11. Chap. 5.--265.) In the crooked and corrupted ſchool of politics, ſuch unhappy victims of imperial policy have frequently been ſlaughtered, but reaſon and humanity have always raiſed their voices againſt this dreadful waſte of human blood. In proportion as the mild ſpirit of Chriſtianity hath been attended to, theſe ſcenes have diſappeared, and it is ſome conſolation to reflect, that the hiſtorians of a future century will have fewer extravagant inſtances of tyranny and cruelty either to record, or to lament.

[p] "Frontine ne fait point cette diſtinction: il pretend que tous les princes vaincus ſubirent un pareit ſort." I have been under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of varying this ſentence. Frontinus on the contrary, proves as far as his evidence hath any weight, that Alexander purſued the ſame ſyſtem of retaining his ſovereignty over the conqueſts, that he had made, by the removal of every individual, capable of creating either danger or diſturbance. "Alexander, devictâ perdomitâque Thraciâ, petens Aſiam, veritus, ne poſt ipſius deceſſus ſumerent arma, reges eorum, præfectoſque, et omnes, quibus videbantur ineſſe cura detractæ libertatis, ſecum, velut honoris cauſâ, traxit, ignobilibus autem relictis plebeios præfecit; conſecutus, ubi principes beneficiis ejus obſtricti, nihil novare vellent; plebs vero ne poſſet quidem, ſpo'iata principibus." I. Frontinus. Strategemat. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--298, 299. 8vo L. B. 1731

city was beſieged and totally deſtroyed. Every germ of a war, which might have retarded, and perhaps have put a ſtop to the vaſt projects of this Prince, was thus blaſted to its root, and Thebes in its ruins exhibited an awful and tremendous ſpectacle, which ſpread an impreſſive conſternation over all Greece.

Thebes was taken by ſtratagem according to Polyænus,[q] but Ptolemy,[r] who was preſent at the ſiege, informs us that the beſieged had raſhly advanced too far in a ſally, and on being repulſed by the Macedonian phalanx, the beſiegers entered the town with them in their confuſion. Diodorus Siculus[s] hath confirmed Ptolemy's

[q] "Αλεξανδρ@ ελαβε Θηβας της δυναμεως ικανην αποκρυψας, και ταξας αυτης Αντιπατρον. την δε φανεραν αυτης ηγεν επι τας εχυρας των τοπων· Θηβαιοι δε επεξηλθον, και προς την ὁρωμενην δυναμιν ουκ αγενως αντιπαρεταξαντο· Αντιπατρ@ εν τω καιρω της μαχης την κεκρυμενην δυναμιν αναζησας, κυκλω περιελθων ἡ σαθρον και αφυλακτον ην το τειχ@, ταυτη κατελαβετο την πολιν·" Polyænus. Strat. Lib. 4. --333.

[r] "Λεγει Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου ὁτι———Αλεξανδρ@ τους μεν αυτου φευγοντας κατιδων, τους Θηβαιους δε λελυκοτας εν τη διωξει την ταξιν, εμβαλλει ες αυτους συντεταγμενη τη φαλαγγι· Οι δε ωθουσιν τους Θηβαιους εισω των πυλων· και τοις Θηβαιοις ες τοσονδε ἡ φυγη φοβερα εγιγνετο, ὡστε δια των πυλων ωθουμενοι ες την πολιν, ουκ εφθησαν συγκλεισαι τας πυλας· αλλα συνεσπιπτουσι γαρ αυτοις εισω του τειχους, ὁσοι των Μακεδονων εγγυς φευγοντων ειχοντο·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 8.--34, 35, 36.

[s] "Ανυπερβλητω δε της φιλοτιμιας γινομενης, ὁ βασιλευς, κατανοησας τινα πυλιδα καταλελειμενην απο των φυλακων, εξαπεστειλε Περδικκαν μετα στρατιωτων ἱκανων καταλαβεσθαι ταυτην, και παρεισπεσειν εις την πολιν· τυτω δε ταχυ το προσταχθεν ποισαντος, ὁι μεν Μακεδονες δια της πυλιδ@ παρεισεπεσον εις την πολιν———της δε πολεως τον τροπον καταλαμβανομενης, πολλαι και ποικιλαι περιστασεις εντος των τειχων εγινοντο·" The terrible cataſtrophe is then pathetically deſcribed. "Οι μεν γαρ Μακεδονες, δια την ὑπερηφανιαν τω κηρυγματ@, πικροτερον, η πολεμικωτερον προσεφεροντο τοις Θηβαιοις, κ᾽ μετα πολλης απειλης επιφερομενοι τοις ητυχηκοσιν, αφειδως ανηρουν παντας τους περιτυγχανοντας· Οι δε Θηβαιοι, το φιλελευθερον της ψυχης διαφυλαττοντες, τοσουτον απειχον τω φιλοζωειν, ὡς᾽ εν ταις απαντησεσι συμπλεκεσθαι, κ᾽

Ptolemy's account with a few ſlight ſhades of difference. The hiſtorians reckon ſix thouſand of the beſieged to have been killed, and thirty thouſand of them to have been made priſoners:[t] others have pretended that the Thebans loſt ten thouſand men in the ſiege. Agatharcides very reaſonably ſuſpects this calculation to be an exaggerated one, and improbable.[w] On the ſuppoſition that

κ) τας παρα των πολεμιων επισπασθαι πληγας· ἑαλωκυιας γαρ της πολεως, ουδεις Θηβαιων ἑωραθη δεηθεις των Μακεδονων φεισασθαι τε ζην, ουδε προσεπιπτον τοις των κρατιστων γονασιν αξιννως·——των δε ὑπολελειμενων Θηβαιων οἱ μεν κατατετρωμενοι τα σωματα, κ) λειποψυχουντες συνεπλεκοντο τοις πολεμιοις, συναποθνησκοντες τη των εχθρων απολεια·'' (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--169, 170.) The generous mind will pauſe with admiration at this wonderful diſplay of undaunted valour, and a ſigh will naturally ariſe on the recollection that ſuch exertions in the cauſe of freedom were unſucceſsful.

[t] ''Των δε Θηβαιων ανηρεθησαν μεν ὑπερ τας ἑξακισχιλιους, αιχμαλωτα δε σωματα συνηχθη πλειω των τρισμυριων·'' Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--170.

''Εφονευσε δε των Θηβαιων εις ἑξακισχιλιους, αιχμαλωτοι δε εληφθησαν τρισμυριοι·'' (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 13. C. 7. Tom. 2.-861. 4to 1731.) We learn from the ſame authority that the deſcendants of the poet Pindar had a ſingular reſpect paid to them amidſt the univerſal devaſtation, and that his houſe was the only one exempted from the general deſtruction. ''Ετιμησε δε κ) τους εγγονους τους τε Πινδαρου κ) την οικιαν αυτου μονην ειασαν ἑξαναι·'' (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 13. Chap. 7. Tom. 2.-860.) Plutarch hath confirmed Ælian's account of the reſpect ſhewn to Pindar's family, and agrees with him on the Theban Loſs. ''Υπεξελομενος δε τους ἱερεις, κ) τους ξενους Μακεδονων ἁπαντας, κ) τους απο Πινδαρου γεγονοτας, κ) τους ὑπεναντιωθεντας τοις ψηφισαμενοις την αποστασιν, απεδοτο τους αλλους, ωσει τρισμυριους γενομενους· οἱ δε αποθανοντες ὑπερ ἑξακισχιλιους ησαν·'' Plutarch. Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--670.)

[w] I am not happy enough to have found the paſſage, which the Baron de St. Croix hath referred to in Photius, for this opinion of Agatharcides. The only one that I have met with, which mentions the loſs of the Thebans, is the following one. ''Πλην προστιθησι κ) ἑτερα των ειρημενων ὁμοια, ὑπο την αυτην κ) ταυτα φερων διαβολην· οἱον, Θηβαιοι εν τη μαχη τη προς Μακεδονας ὑπερ τους μυριους ανετραπησαν·'' (Photii Biblioth. 1337.) where the expreſſion was more an object of criticiſm, than the number of the ſlain. Simpſon alſo thinks the number to have been magnified. Chronic. ad Ann. Mundi, 3670.

that this ſtatement was correct, the population of Thebes might be eſtimated at fifty thouſand ſouls, a number that bears no ſort of proportion to the crippled ſtate of this city, which had previouſly loſt much of its ancient ſplendour, had been enfeebled by many bloody battles, and whoſe power had been nearly annihilated in the ſacred war.[x] Clitarchus only valued the whole riches of Thebes, when they became a prey to the Macedonians, at four hundred and forty talents,[y] which directly contradicts the pompous account that Diodorus Siculus hath given of the pretended treaſure, found by the Conqueror on his capture of this place. But the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who is often very inexact, can here indeed have little influence, as we find in general the ſame calculations with thoſe of Clitarchus. Some arguments may alſo be drawn from the circumſtances, which Athenæus hath preſerved, reſpecting the manners and mode of life amongſt the Thebans, which denounce their poverty,[z] and appear inconſiſtent with a numerous population, which is generally the attendant of advantageous manufactures and extenſive commerce.

Alarmed

[x] Pauſanias informs us that this ſacred war laſted ten years. "Τον Φωκικον πολεμον, ονομαζομενον δε ὑπο Ελληνων ἱερον, συνεχως δεκα ετεσιν επολεμησαν." (Pauſanias. Lib. 9. Chap. 6.--724.) A length of time that muſt neceſſarily have drained them both of men and money.

[y] "Κλειταρχος εν πρωτη των περι Αλεξανδρον ἱστοριων διηθμενος, ϗ ὁτι πας αυτων πλουτος ηυρεθε μετα την ὑπ' Αλεξανδρου της πολεως κατασκαφην εν ταλαντοις τετρακοσιοις τεσσαρακοντα φησιν, ὁτι τε μικροψυχοι ησαν, ϗ τα περι την τροφην λιχνοι." Athenæus. Lib. 4.--148.

[z] "Παρασκευαζοντες εν τοις δειπνοις θρια, ϗ ἑψητους, ϗ αφυας, ϗ ἐκαρσιλυχους, ϗ αλλαντας, ϗ σχελιδας, ϗ ετνος." Athenæus. Lib. 4.--148.

Alarmed at the capture of Thebes, Athens by the perſuaſion of Demades ſent an embaſſy to Alexander, to congratulate him on his ſafe return from Illyria and the country of the Triballians, and to teſtify their joy to him on his ſucceſs at Thebes, and the chaſtiſement, with which he had puniſhed its revolt. The Prince received it very graciouſly, but he wrote to the Athenians and demanded Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctes, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus and Mærocles to be given up to him, whom he believed to have been the authors of the diſturbances after Philip's death, and the cauſe of the battle of Chæronea. A ſecond embaſſy was ſent by the Athenians with the hope of ſoftening the Prince's reſolution, and the buſineſs was at laſt compromiſed, on Alexander's inſiſting only on the exile of Charidemus.[a] Such is Arrian's account, but it neither agrees with that of his cotemporary authors, nor even with that of Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, or Juſtin. Thebes was not in fact deſtroyed, and the young Conqueror was abſolutely engaged in the ſiege, when the embaſſy was ſent, as appears by the oration of Æſchines againſt Cteſiphon, in which he reproaches Demoſthenes, one of the deputies, with his return from mount Cithæron, and having wanted the courage to execute his commiſſion.[b] Plutarch confirms the charge of Æſchines, and adds that a meſſage was ſent by Alexander

[a] "Χαριδημον μεν τοι, μονον των εξαιτηθεντων τε κ᾽ ου δοθεντων, φευγειν εκελευσε· κ᾽ φευγει Χαριδημος ες την Ασιαν παρα βασιλεα Δαρειον"' Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 10. Chap. 10.--44.

[b] "Πρεσβευτης ὑφ᾽ὑμων χειροτονηθεις, αποδρας εκ μεσθ τθ Κιθαιρων@· ἠκεν ὑποστρεψας"' Æſchinis oratio contra Cteſiphont. 120.

ander himſelf to demand ten of the factious demagogues[c] according to Duris and Idomeneus, and eight according to more credible hiſtorians. Demades having joined the party of Demoſthenes,[d] was named by the people of Athens, ambaſſador on this occaſion to Alexander, and he had the addreſs to procure the pardon of their orators.——Diodorus Siculus[e] hath not taken any notice of the firſt deputations of the Athenians, though he agrees in other particulars with Plutarch. Juſtin ſpeaks of this deputation even before the ſiege of Thebes, and if we are to believe him, its object was to obtain a peace from the young Monarch, which he granted.

c "Αιρεθεις δε μεθ' ἑτερων πρεσβευτης προς Αλεξανδρον, δεισας δε την οργην, εκ τυ Κιθαιρωνος ανεχωρησεν οπισω, καὶ την πρευσβειαν αφηκεν· ευθυς δε ὁ Αλεξανδρος εζητει πεμπων των δημαγωγων δεκα μεν ὡς Ιδομενευς καὶ Δουρις ειρηκασιν· οκτω δε, ως οἱ πλειστοι καὶ δοκιμωτατοι των συγγραφεων, τους δε, Δημοσθενη, Πολυευκτον, Εφιαλτην, Λυκουργον, Μυροκλεα, Δαμωνα, Καλλισθενη, Χαριδημον·" Plutarch. Vit. Demoſth. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--856.

d Diodorus Siculus informs us that Demades was ſuppoſed to have received five talents for this political manœuvre. "Δημαδης, πεπεισμενος ὑπο των περι Δημοσθενην, ὡς φασι, πεντε ταλαντοις αργυριυ, συνεβελευε μεν σωζειν τους κινδυνευοντας·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--171.) The Athenian ſenate it ſeems was as corrupt as a modern Houſe of Commons.

e Diodorus Siculus agrees with Plutarch and Æſchines as to the return of Demoſthenes from mount Cithæron, but he doubts whether it was from fear, or other motives. "Εν δε τοις πρεσβεσι καὶ Δημοσθενης εκπεμφθεις, ὁ συνηλθε μετα των αλλων προς τον Αλεξανδρον, αλλ' εκ τυ Κιθαιρωνος ανεκαμψεν εις τας Αθηνας· ειτε δια τα πεπολιτευμενα κατα Μακεδονων φοβηθεις, ειτε βυλομενος τω βασιλει των Περσων αμεμπτον ἑαυτον διαφυλαττειν· πολλα γαρ χρηματα φασιν αυτον ειληφεναι παρα Περσων, ἱνα πολιτευηται κατα Μακεδονων· περι ὡν καὶ τον Αισχινην φασιν, ονειδιζοντα τω Δημοσθενει κατα τινα λογον την δωροδοκιαν, ειπειν, "Νυν μεντοι την δαπανην επικεκλυκεν αυτυ το βασιλικον χρυσιον· ισαι δε καὶ τυτο ἱκανον· ὁδεις γαρ πωποτε πλυτος τροπυ πονηρυ περιεγενετο·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--162, 163.) A variety of theſe pointed charges are made by Æſchines in his oration againſt Cteſiphon, and as they are ſo feebly repelled by Demoſthenes, in all probability, they were but too well founded.

granted.[f] This hiſtorian informs us likewiſe that Alexander pardoned the orators, but that the Athenian generals were under the neceſſity of retiring into exile; and, entering into the Perſian ſervice, were of infinite advantage to it.[g] But this latter circumſtance ſtands unſupported by any writer of antiquity. Juſtin poſſibly meant to ſpeak of Charidemus, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently in the Olynthian war, but it appears, by ſome expreſſions of Dinarchus,[h] that this able general had voluntarily expatriated, for the purpoſe of rendering his country more important advantages with the King of Perſia.[i]——Ephialtes ſoon followed the example, and retired from Athens.[k] But it is not probable as Arrian hath aſſerted,[l] that the Athenians could have

[f] "Miſſis itaque legatis, bellum deprecantur: quibus auditis et graviter increpatis, Alexander bellum remiſit, Inde Thebas exercitum convertit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 3.--262.

[g] "Secundâ legatione denuo bellum deprecantibus, ita demum remiſerit, ut oratores et duces, quorum fiducia toties rebellent, ſibi dedantur: paratiſque Athenienſibus ne cogantur ſubire bellum, eo res deducta eſt, ut retentis oratoribus, duces in exilium agerentur, qui ex continenti ad Darium profecti, non mediocre Perſarum viribus acceſſere." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 4.--265.

[h] Dinarchi oratio contra Demoſthenem. Ed. Steph. 99.

[i] From a jealouſy of the Perſian generals, he was afterwards ungratefully put to death by the orders of Darius. Q. Curtius (Lib. 3. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--69.--70.) hath given us ſome of the leading circumſtances. Diodorus Siculus (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--181, 182.) hath entered into them more minutely.

[k] Dinarchi oratio contra Demoſthenem. Ed. Steph. 94.

[l] "Αθηναιοι δε, μυστηριων των μεγαλων αγομενων, ὡς ἠκον τινες των Θηβαιων εξ αυτου τυ ἐργου, τα μεν μυστηρια εκπλαγεντες εξελιπον, εκ δε των αγρων εσκευαγωγουν ες την πολιν." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib 1. Chap. 10.-43.) This feſtival diſtinguiſhed by the name of the greater myſteries was celebrated in the

applauded Alexander on his cruel treatment of the Thebans, when they publicly deplored their lamentable fate, immediately put a ſtop to the celebration of their myſteries, and received within their walls ſuch of the wretched ſufferers as had eſcaped from the ſword or fetters of the Conqueror. [m]

Having ſecured the tranquillity of Greece, Alexander prepared for his attack of the Perſian empire. The weakneſs of a neighbouring nation, ſtrong political probabilities of ſucceſs, and the deſtruction of an enemy, are often the real cauſes of wars, which are entered into with apparent principles of juſtice.—The Conqueror of Aſia had no other motives. Polybius, [n] with his uſual acuteneſs, hath penetrated into them, and hath had the ſagacity to ſeparate them from thoſe pretended reaſons for hoſtilities, in which the Grecian vanity was too much intereſted, to allow of their ſuſpecting their propriety.

The

the month Boedromion with extraordinary and rigid ſolemnity. It laſted nine days, and was introduced at Romè under Adrian, when it bore the name of the Eleuſinian myſteries from the town of Eleuſis in Attica, where it had been celebrated with more than common ſuperſtition. Themiſtius, Proclus, Stobæus and Dion Chryſoſtom, have given us ſome intereſting circumſtances relating to theſe myſteries: Meurſius hath entered into them at large in his treatiſe on this feſtival, and Warburton (Divine Legation, Vol. 1.--239, 248. 8vo Edit. 1765.) hath extracted the eſſence, and ingeniouſly adapted it to his own ſyſtem.

[m] The flying Thebans according to Æſchines were received within the walls of Athens: "Τες ταλαιπωρες Θηβαιες φυγοντας ὑποδεδεχθε τη πολει·" (Æſchines contra Cteſiph. 116.) but Juſtin goes ſtill further and ſays, that they opened the city-gates to them, in defiance of Alexander's expreſs prohibition. "Miſeranda res Athenienſibus viſa. Itaque portus refugiis profugorum contra interdictum regis aperuere." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 4.--264.

[n] Polyb. Hiſt. Lib. 3. Tom. 1.--398, 399, 400. Edit. Schweighæuſer. 8vo Lipſ. 1789.

The era of this expedition into Aſia became a celebrated one in the Grecian calendars, and was marked in all their annals. Duris reckoned 1000 years from the deſtruction of Troy to this epoch: Ephorus from the return of the Heraclides to the ſame period 735: Timœus and Clitarchus 820: Eratoſthenes 773, and laſtly Phanius aſſures us that 715 had elapſed between that event and the Archonſhip of Evænetus, when Alexander entered Aſia.[o] Diodorus, after the information that Alexander mounted the throne, during the magiſtracy of this Archon, is reduced to the neceſſity of fixing this expedition under that of Cteſicles,[p] circumſtances rendering an interval of a year[q] neceſſary between Philip's death and the war, which his Son undertook againſt Perſia. This opinion, however, is by no means preferable to that of St. Clement of Alexandria, who refers it to the Archonſhip of Evænetus his predeceſſor.[r] It is at leaſt certain, that Alexander's expedition into Aſia was immediately ſubſequent to the fall of

[o] "Επι Ευαινετον αρχοντα εφ' ὃ φασιν Αλεξανδρον εις την Ασιαν διαβηναι, ὡς μεν Φανιας, ετη επτακοσια δεκαπεντε· ὡς μεν Εφορος επτακοσια τριακοντα πεντε· ὡς δε Τιμαιος και Κλειταρχος οκτακοσια εικοσι· ὡς δε Ερατοσθενης επτακοσια εβδομηκοντα τεσσερα· ὡς δε Δυρις, απο Τροιας ἁλωσεως επι την του Αλεξανδρου εις την Ασιαν διαβασιν ετη χιλια." Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 1.--337. Fol. apud Morell. 1629.

[p] "Επ' αρχοντος δ' Αθηνησι Κτησικλεους·——————Αλεξανδρος δε μετα της δυναμεως πορευθεις επι τον Ἑλλεσποντον διεβιβασε την δυναμιν εκ της Ευρωπης εις την Ασιαν·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --172.

[q] Zozimus hath boldly poſtponed this Aſiatic expedition to the third year of Alexander's reign. "Αλεξανδρος δε παραλαβων την βασιλειαν, χ' παραχρημα τα κατα τους Ελληνας διαθεις, τριτῳ της βασιλειας ετει μετα δυναμεως αρχασης επι την Ασιαν εξελλετο·" Zozimus. Lib. 1.--7, 8. 8vo Lipſ. 1784.

[r] Stromat. Lib. 1.--337.

Thebes, 335 years before Chriſt.—We learn from Arrian, that Alexander began his march early in the ſpring, and reached Seſtus in twenty days,[s] which proves as the learned Uſher[t] hath obſerved, that the paſſage of the Helleſpont ought to be fixed about three months before Cteſicles entered into office. The operations of the army in Aſia Minor, and the battle of Iſſus eſtabliſh this calculation, which Corſini[v] hath adopted in his Attic annals, though the Jeſuit Petau[w] from a devotion to Diodorus, rather more than warrantable, hath related theſe events and the remarkable paſſage of the Grecians under the magiſtracy of Cteſicles, notwithſtanding they really happened under that of Evænetus.

The judicious counſels of the ſage Memnon[x] were either not attended to, or not followed; and the Perſians having determined to

[s] "Αμα δε τω ηρι αρχομενω εξελαυνει αφ' Ελλεσποντυ· ——————εις Σηστον αφικνειται εν εικοσι ταις πασαις ἡμεραις απο της οικοθεν ἐξορμησεως·" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 11.-44, 45.) Diodorus Siculus hath recorded Antipater's and Parmenio's very curious advice to Alexander, previous to the commencement of his Aſiatic expedition. "Των δε περι Αντιπατρον, κ) Παρμενιωνα συμβυλευοντων, προτερον ΠΑΙΔΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ, κ) τοτε τοις τηλικουτοις εγχειρειν εργοις·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--171.) The recommendation of ſuch a ſyſtem of Royal Amuſement might have warped a leſs vigorous and ambitious mind from its intended projects, and put a final ſtop to the Perſian war.

[t] Uſher, Annal. 151.

[v] Corſini Faſt. Attic. Tom. 4.--41, 42.

[w] D. Petavius Doctrin. Temp. Lib. 13.

[x] "Μεμνων ὁ Ροδιος παρηνει μη δια κινδυνου ειναι προς τυς Μακεδονας, τω τε πιζω πολυ περιοντα σφων, κ) αυτυ Αλεξανδρυ παροντος, αυτοις δε αποντος Δαριυ· Προιοντας δε, τον τε χιλον αφανιζειν καταπατυντας τη

to defend the paſſage of the Granicus, their army agreeable to Arrian's computation, conſiſted of twenty thouſand cavalry and an equal number of infantry,[y] of which the mercenaries formed the greateſt part. Diodorus Siculus magnifies the number into ten thouſand cavalry and one hundred thouſand infantry,[z] whilſt Juſtin taking the horſe and foot together, extends it to ſix hundred thouſand,[a] which ſhocks every idea of probability.

Arrian hath entered into a minute deſcription of this celebrated battle, in which the Perſian valour made victory for a long time doubtful, and which Alexander at laſt decided in his favour by plunging at the head of the Theſſalian horſe into the middle of the enemy. The defeated army loſt, according to this writer's calculation,

τη ἱππῳ, ϗ τον εν τη γη καρπον εμπιπραναι, μηδε των πολεων αυτων φειδομενους· ου γαρ μενειν εν τη χωρᾳ Αλεξανδρον αποριᾳ των επιτηδειων· (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 12.-53.) Diodorus Siculus confirms the circumſtance of Memnon's opinion with the addition of his wiſhing to carry the war into Europe, and make an attack on Macedonia. "Μεμνον μεν ων ὁ Ροδιος, διαβεβοημενος επι συνεσει ϛρατηγικη, συνεβουλευσε κατα ϛομα μεν μη διακινδυνευειν, την δε χωραν φθειρειν, ϗ τη σπανει των αναγκαιων εἰργειν τους Μακεδονας της εις τουμπροσθεν πορειας· διαβιβαζειν δε ϗ δυναμεις εις την Μακεδονιαν ναυτικας τε ϗ πεζικας, ϗ τον ὁλον πολεμον εις την Ευρωπην μεταγαγειν·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--173.

y "Περσων δε ἱππεις μεν ησαν ες δισμυριους, ξενοι δε πεζοι μισθοφοροι ολιγον αποδεοντες δισμυριων·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 14.--57.

z "'Οι δε παντες ἱππεις ὑπηρχον πλειους των μυριων· οἱ δε πεζοι των Περσων ησαν μεν ουκ ελαττους των δεκα μυριαδων·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--174.

a "In Acie Perſarum ſexcenta millia militum fuere." (Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 6.--270.) The commentators have unanimouſly given up this paſſage as indefenſible, but they have not agreed in what manner its extravagance is to be corrected.

calculation,[b] a thouſand horſe upon this fatal day, and the whole of their infantry, two thouſand of the mercenaries excepted, who were made priſoners, but Diodorus[c] reduces their loſs to ſomewhat above ten thouſand infantry and two thouſand of their cavalry.

Reflecting on the determined reſolution, with which the Perſians reſiſted the efforts of the Macedonian army, and the obſtacles, that a river, defended by a numerous body of troops, under the command of an able and experienced general, naturally preſents, it is impoſſible to believe[d] that the Conqueror ſuffered only the trifling

[b] "Των δη μεν ἱππεων των Περσων αποθανειν εις χιλιους· Ου γαρ πολλη ἡ διωξις εγενετω, ὁτι εξετρεπη Αλεξανδρῳ επι τους ξενους τους μισθοφορους·—Και τουτους την τε φαλαγγα επαγαγων, καὶ τους ἱππεας παντη πορος πιεσειν κελευσας, εν μεσῳ δι ολιγου κατακοπτει αυτους· ὡστε διεφυγε μεν ουδεις, ὁτι μη διελαθε τις εν τοις νεκροις·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 16.--63.

[c] "Diodore reduit toute la perte de l'armée Perſe à dix mille ſoldats." But the Baron de St. Croix hath miſtaken Diodorus Siculus, and forgotten the two thouſand horſe. "Απεθανον δε των Περσων οἱ μεν πεζοι μυριους των πασων, ἱππεις δ' ουκ ελαττους δισχιλιων" (Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--17, 176.) It is a groſs error, and I have rectified it. Plutarch computes the Perſians to have loſt twenty thouſand of their foot, and two thouſand and five hundred of their horſe, but he takes it on tradition: "Λεγονται δε, πεζοι μεν, δισμυριοι των βαρβαρων; ἱππεις δε δισχιλιοι πεντακοσιοι πεσειν" (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--673.) There is perhaps no poſſibility of aſcertaining the preciſe number, but truth, in all likelihood, may lie between the two extremes.

[d] "On ne ſauroit croire que les vainqueurs n'aient perdu que ſoixante et quinxe cavaliers et trente fantaſſins." From theſe repeated miſtakes, it is to be apprehended that the Baron de St. Croix truſted for the fidelity of his references to ſome careleſs tranſcriber. Arrian to whom the appeal is made, ſtates the loſs as it now ſtands. "Μακεδονων δε των μεν ἑταιρων αμφι τους εικοσι και πεντε τη πρωτη προσβολη απεθανον·—Των δε αλλων ἱππεων ὑπερ τους ἑξηκοντα, πεζοι δε ες τους τριακοντα·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 16.--63.) Juſtin reckons it at nine of the foot and one

trifling loſs of eighty-five of his cavalry and thirty of his infantry. Yet this is the account of it, which the hiſtorians of the life of Alexander have left us, who take a pleaſure in diminiſhing the loſſes of their youthful Hero, and exaggerating the misfortunes of his enemies.

Arrian's account of the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, which was defended with infinite courage and capacity by Memnon, hath been juſtly admired by military men, and the reaſon which he ſuppoſes to have had an influence upon Alexander's ſucceſsful paſſage to mount Climax, on the borders of the ſea of Pamphilus, will equally extort the cooler approbation of the philoſopher. The Macedonian Monarch with a part of his army effected this dangerous march with as much happineſs as temerity, a violent North-wind keeping back the waves, and preventing the ſea from covering the ſand with its uſual depth of water. [e]

Strabo,

one hundred and twenty horſe. "De exercitu Alexandri novem pedites, centum viginti equites cecidere." (Lib. 11. Chap. 6.--271.) But Ariſtobulus, as we learn from Plutarch, is more abſurd, and imagines only thirty-four men to have fallen, of whom nine were foot ſoldiers. "Των δε περι τον Αλεξανδρον, Αριστοβυλος φησιν τεσσερα και τριακοντα νεκρους γενεσθαι τους παντας, ων εννεα πεζους ειναι." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--673.) Oroſius (Lib. 3. Chap. 16.) agrees with Juſtin, but as Oroſius is only Juſtin at ſecond hand, I do not know that he adds any thing to his authority.

e "Αυτος δε παρα την θαλασσαν δια του αγιαλου ηγε τους αμφ'αυτον· εστι δε ταυτη ἡ ὁδος ουκ αλλως, ὁτι μη των επ'αρκτου ανεμων πνεοντων· ει δε νοτοι κατεκοιεν, απορως εχει δια του αγιαλου ὁδοιπορειν· τοτε δ'εκ νοτων σκληρων, βορεαι επιπνευσαντες, ουκ ανευ του Θειου (ὡς αυτῳ τε και ὁς αμφ'αυτον εξηγουντω) ευμαρη και ταχειαν την παροδον παρεισχον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. Chap. 26.--92.

Strabo, who ſuppreſſes all the miraculous incidents of the march,[f] informs us, that the Macedonian ſoldiers paſſed through the ſea with the water up to their waiſts, and Plutarch[g] hath cited ſome verſes of Menander, in which the comic poet hath ridiculed the wonderful account, which ſeveral writers had given of this paſſage. Alexander[h] in one of his letters barely mentions it, and ſays, that after his departure from Phacelides he had advanced to mount Climax.

Joſephus

f "Περι Φασηλιδα δ'εϛι τα κατα θαλατταν ϛενα, δι ὡν Αλεξανδρος ωαρηλαϛε την ϛρατειαν· εϛι δε ορος Κλιμαξ καλουμενον· επικειται δε τω ωαμφυλιω ωελαγει, ϛενην απολειπων ωαροδον επι τω αιγιαλω, ταις μεν νηνεμιαις γυμνεμενην, ὡϛε ειναι βασιμον τοις ὁδευϵϛι· ωλημμυροντος δε τϵ ωελαγους, ὑπο των κυματων καλυπτομενην επιπολυ· ἡ μεν ϵν δια τϵ ορους ὑπερβασις, ωεριοδον εχει ϗ ωροσαντης εϛι, τω δ'αιγιαλω χρωνται κατα τας ευδιας· Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος εις χειμεριον εμπεϛων καιρον, ϗ το πλεὸν επιτρεπων τη τυχη, ωϛιν ανειναι τα κυμα ὡρμηϵε, ϗ ὁλην την ἡμεραν εν υδαϵι γενεϵθαι την ωορειαν ϵυνεβη, μεχρι ομφαλϵ βαπτιζομενων·" Strabo. Lib. 14. Tom. 2.--982.

g "Ἡ δε της Παμφυλιης ωαραδρομη, ωολλοις γεγονε των ἱϛορικων ὑποθεϵις γραφικη ωρος εκπληξιν ϗ ογκον, ὡϛ θειᾳ τινι τυχη ωαραχωρηϵαϵαν Αλεξανδρω την θαλαϵϵαν, αλλως αει ταχειαν εκ ωελαγους ωροϵφερομενην, ϵπανιως δε λεπτους ϗ ωροϵηχεις ὑπο τα κρημνωδη ϗ ωαρερρωγοτα της ὀρεινης ωαγους διακαλυπτουϵαν δηλοι δε ϗ Μενανδρος, εν κωμωδια ωαιζων ωρος το ωαραδοξον· Ὡϛ Αλεξανδρωδες ηδη τυτο, ξϗ ζητω τινα, αυτοματῳ ὑτῳ ωαρεϵαι· καν διελθειν δηλαδη δια θαλαϵϵης δεη τοπον τιν, ὑτῳ εϵαι μοι βαθος·" Plutarch. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--674.

h "Αυτῳ δε Αλεξανδρος εν ταις επιϵολαις, ουδεν τοιυτον τερατευϵαμενῳ, ὁδοποιηϵαι φηϵιν, την λεγομενην Κλιμακα, ϗ διελθειν ὁρμηϵας εκ Φαϵηλιδῳ·" (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--674.) Yet Appian, in his parallel of Julius Cæſar with Alexander, by his expreſſions of "Δαιμονιως" and "Αυτϵ τϵ Δαιμονῳ," appears to intimate a received opinion of a ſupernatural impulſe on the ſea. "Και τον Παμφυλιον κολπον της θαλαϵϵης ανακοπειϵης διετρεχε δαιμονιως, ϗ το πελαγῳ αυτϵ του Δαιμονῳ κατειχοντῳ·" (De bell. civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--849. 8vo Amſt. 1670.) The latter part of this ſentence is ridiculouſly rendered in this edition, "Fortuna marina undas cohibente." Appian here certainly meant more than is uſually underſtood by the Greek word Τυχη, which is properly tranſlated, Fortune: the idea of both the heroes of his compariſon being, in a very particular manner, under the ſpecial protection of Providence, exalts their characters and fell exactly within his plan.

Joſephus was not proof againſt theſe fabulous relations, and having occaſion to take notice of the paſſage of the Red ſea, he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms, "Nor let any one wonder at the ſtrangeneſs of the narration; if a way were diſcovered to thoſe men of old time, who were free from the wickedneſs of modern ages, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord. While for the ſake of thoſe that accompanied Alexander, King of Macedonia, who yet lived, comparatively but a little while ago, the Pamphylian ſea retired and afforded them a paſſage through itſelf, when they had no other way to go: I mean when it was the will of God to deſtroy the Monarchy of the Perſians. And this is confeſſed to be true by all that have written about the actions of Alexander. But as to theſe events let every one determine as he pleaſes."[i] Joſephus in this indiſcreet reference to the paſſage of the Red ſea, ſeems to admit that there were doubts[k] of the reality of that miracle,

 though

[i] Whiſton's Joſephus. Book 2. Chap. 16. Vol. 2.--63. "Θαυμασει δε μηδεις τω λογω το παραδοξον, ει αρχαιοις ανθρωποις κ̀ πονηριας απειροις ευρεθη σωτηριας οδος κ̀ δια θαλασσης, ειτε κατα βουλησιν Θεου, ειτε αυτοματον· οποτε κ̀ τοις περι τον Αλεξανδρον τον βασιλεα της Μακεδονιας χθες κ̀ πρωην γενομενοις υπεχωρησε το Παμφυλιον πελαγος,* κ̀ οδον αλλην ουκ εχουσι παρεσχε την δ' αυτου, καταλυσαι την Περσων ηγεμονιαν τω Θεω θελησαντος· κ̀ τουτο παντες ομολογουσιν οι τας Αλεξανδρου πραξεις συγγραψαμενοι· περι μεν ουν τουτων ως εκαστω δοκει διαλαμβανετο·" Joſephus. Lib. 2. Chap. 16. Tom. 1.--115.

* "La mer de Pamphile ſe retira pendant deux jours," is the French verſion. We learn from the Greek original that the ſea "υπεχωρησε" retired, withdrew itſelf, but there is not a ſyllable that ſpecifies the duration of the receſs.

[k] Reland hath very ably vindicated the Jewiſh hiſtorian, reſpecting the laſt ſentence of the Greek quotation from the imputation of incredulity, and he hath proved by repeated inſtances that

though there were not any of the ſupernatural circumſtances reſpecting the march under mount Climax, and he violates by the indecency [1] of the parallel both the ſacred evidence of hiſtory and the religious creed of his anceſtors.

After

that Joſephus made uſe of ſimilar expreſſions, when not an atom of a doubt could have remained upon his mind. Whiſton hath tranſlated the whole of the remarks, (Joſephus, Vol. 2. Diſſertation. 1ſt. Sec. 82.) but I was ſorry to obſerve that the "Ειτε αυτοματον" hath been left by them both to ſhift for itſelf.——The learned Michaelis, in his notes on the 14th Chapter of Exodus, conſiders the event as a natural effect of a very violent wind, which blew in a direct oppoſition to the tide, but he afterwards allows, "Moïſe ne put par aucun raiſon humaine prevoir le deſſechement de la mer qui ſauva et lui et le peuple, il agit par inſpiration divine. Ce deſſechement fut une œuvre de la Providence, qui avoit reſolu de delivrer ſon peuple. La previſion certain de cet evenement etoit ſurnaturelle au ſupreme degrè, puiſqu'il n'eſt jamais arrivé que cette ſeule fois, et ſa connoiſſance prouvoit la miſſion divine de Moïſe autant qu'aucun miracle eut pu le faire. Moïſe qui contre le bout de ſa marche et ſans neceſſité ſe tourna vers le coté d'Afrique de la mer-rouge qui lui coupoit le chemin de l'Aſie, qui ſe vit environné d'Egyptiens et qui auroit du perir, s'il n'etoit arrivé un fait inoüi et unique: ce Moïſe qui au lieu d'exhorter ſon peuple reſſerré entre la mer et l'ennemi à une vigoureuſe defenſe, lui promet, que Dieu le delivrera ſans armes, lui ordonne de marcher vers la mer, ſur laquelle il etend ſa verge, et lui commande d'ouvrir un chemin a ce peuple, et qui agit comme s'il prevoyoit d'une maniere ſure cette ebe extraordinaire arrivée cette ſeule fois dans notre monde, cet homme doit ten'r ſa miſſion du maitre de la nature, qui ſeul pouvoit reveler ce qu'il avoit arrangé dans celle-ci pour le ſalut des Iſraelites."——Monſieur Niebuhr hath cited in his deſcription of Arabia this paſſage from Michaelis, and he very ſenſibly obſerves, "J'avoue, que le decouvrement du fonds de la mer qui même ſelon Monsr Michaelis etoit ſurnaturel au ſupreme degré, l'operation de la Providence, la tempète ſuppoſée qui dans l'eſpace de 24 heures ſoufloit de deux plages contraires, pendant que le vent y eſt conſtamment ſix mois Nord et ſix mois Sud, l'obeiſſance de la mer qui offrit au peuple d'Iſrael un chemin des que Moïſe avoit etendu ſa main ſur elle, j'avoue, dis-je, que toutes ces circonſtances me paroiſſent autant de miracles. Si tout cela s'eſt paſſé tres naturellement, je ne ſais pas encore ce que les ſavans entendent par le mot de miracle." (Deſcription de l'Arabie, 359, 360.) I refer the curious reader to this authentic traveller for ſome elucidations on this ſubject, and he may be farther gratified on conſulting, the Eſſai Phyſique ſur l'heure des marées dans la mer rouge of Monsr Michaelis, and Le Clerc Diſſert. de Traject. Mar. Idum.

[1] Joſephus hath been ſuppoſed by ſome perſons, to have endeavoured to prove the poſſibility of

After the battle of Granicus, Alexander paſſed victorioufly through Ionia, Caria, Lydia, and Pamphylia, when he quitted the borders of the Ægean ſea to penetrate into the interior part of the country, by Piſidia and the greater Phrygia to Gordium, [m]

 the

of the paſſage of the Iſraelites from Alexander's march; but whatever may have been his doubts and intentions, the miraculous paſſage of the Iſraelites is recorded on evidence that is indiſputable. The veracity of the event is confirmed by various alluſions to it in the ſacred writings, and it is referred to by the prophets, (Iſaiah 63. V. 12, 13. Habakkuk 3. 10.) who lived comparatively ſpeaking, at no great diſtance from the time of this ſignal interpoſition of the Divinity in favour of his choſen people, and muſt have received the tradition, whilſt all its wonderful circumſtances were freſh upon the memory; who were above impoſition; and who were immediately inſpired by Omnipotence. As to the parallel itſelf, there is certainly an indecency in it, and what is more extraordinary, there is not the leaſt reſemblance.——In the paſſage of the Iſraelites, Moſes ſtretches out his rod, and the ſea in obedience opens and divides; the wind blows with violence from a new and unuſual point of the compaſs; the waters become a wall on the right hand and on the left, and the Children of Iſrael continue their route on the dry ſand.——Alexander on the contrary, with a part of his army made his way through the ſea with the water up to the waiſt, as Strabo (Lib. 14. Tom. 2.—982.) expreſsly tells us, and owed in all likelihood the ſafety of the paſſage to the fortunate circumſtance of a ſtrong wind, ſetting off the ſhore and againſt the tide, which he had the good ſenſe to take advantage of.

[m] It was at Gordium that Alexander cut the celebrated knot, on which the future deſtiny of Aſia depended. Q. Curtius hath given the following account of it. "Notabile erat jugum adſtrictum compluribus nodis in ſemetipſos implicatis, et celantibus nexus. Incolis deinde adfirmantibus, editam eſſe oraculo ſortem, Aſiæ potiturum, qui inexplicabile vinculum ſolviſſet: cupido inceſſit animo ſortis ejus implendæ. Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba, et Macedonum: illa expectatione ſuſpenſa, hæc ſollicita ex temerariâ regis fiduciâ. Quippe ſeries vinculorum ita adſtricta, ut unde nexus inciperet, quove ſe conderet, nec ratione, nec viſu percipi poſſet, ſolvere adgreſſo injeceret curam, ne in omen verteretur inritum inceptum. Ille nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis; nihil, inquit, intereſt quomodo ſolvantur; gladioque ruptis omnibus loris, oraculi ſortem vel eluſit, vel implevit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1---57, 58.) This was an expeditious method of ſolving the difficulty, but Ariſtobulus, according to Arrian, hath related the anecdote very differently. "Αριστοβουλος δε λεγει, εξελοντα τον ιστορα του ρυμου, ὃς ην τυλος διαβεβλημενος δια του ρυμου διαμπαξ, ξυνεχων τον δεσμον, εξελκυσαι εξω του ζυγου" He adds however afterwards,

the ancient capital of the province. From Gordium he directed his march towards the Eaſt and arrived at Ancyra,[n] where he received the Paphlagonian deputies. They were charged with a commiſſion to offer him the homage of their nation, and to requeſt that he would not order any of his forces into their territories. The negotiation was ſucceſsful, and their petition was agreed to, on a promiſe of their obedience to Calas, the Satrap of Phrygia. The ſtory then of Q. Curtius, who tells us, that the Macedonian army entered into Paphlagonia,[o] hath no truth in it; and it is indeed contradicted by the hiſtorian himſelf, who makes Alexander

afterwards, that he was doubtful how the knot was abſolutely looſened, though he conſidered the intention of the Oracle to have been fulfilled, from the ſubſequent appearances in the heavens. "Οπως μεν δη επραχθη τα αμφι τω δεσμω τουτω Αλεξανδρω, ουκ εχω ισχυρισασθαι· Απηλλαγη δ'ουν απο της ἁμαξης αυτος τε και οι αμφ'αυτον, ὡς του λογιου του επι τη λυσει τω δεσμω ξυμβεβηκοτος. Και γαρ και της νυκτος εκεινης βροντας τε και σελας εξ ουρανω επεσημηναν και επι τουτοις εθυε τη ὑστεραια Αλεξανδρος τοις φηνασι θεοις τα τε σημεια, και τω δεσμω την λυσιν·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 3.--110, 111.

n "Επ'Αγκυρας της Γαλατικης εξελλετο, κακει αυτω πρεσβεια αφικνειται Παφλαγονων το τε εθνος ενδιδοντων, κ) ες ὁμολογιαν ξυμβαινοντων· ες δε την χωραν ξυν τη δυναμει μη εσβαλειν εδεοντο· Τουτοις μεν δη προσασσει Αλεξανδρος ὑπακουειν καλα τω σατραπη της Φρυγιας·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.--111.

o "Jamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat; ubi numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat. ———Omniſque hæc regio: paruit regi datiſque obſidibus, tributum quod ne Perſis quidam tuliſſent, pendere ne cogerentur impetraverunt. Calas huic regioni præpoſitus eſt." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. C. 1. Tom. 1.—59.) It appears from this paſſage of Q. Curtius, that Alexander marched after his arrival at Ancyra into Paphlagonia, which was then much nearer him, and conſequently the Baron de St. Croix's reaſoning is not applicable. The error may have ariſen from the city Ancyra in Phrygia having been miſtaken for the Ancyra in Galatia, where the Paphlagonian deputies met Alexander, and which Arrian hath aſcertained by the "Της Γαλατικης." If Alexander was ſatisfied with the offers of the deputies, he certainly did not march into Paphlagonia againſt their explicit ſtipulation. The two hiſtorians are at iſſue on the point: I do not mean to decide the difference, but to ſtate it fairly.

Alexander to march from Gordium to Ancyra, by which he muſt have paſſed Paphlagonia, at ſome diſtance on the left.

Cappadocia was involved in the fate of the neighbouring nations, and ſubmitted to the Macedonian Conqueror, who poſted a part of his troops on the ſame ground that the Younger Cyrus had halted upon, in his march to Cunaxa. Q. Curtius pretends that this poſt was the preciſe place, where Cyrus the Great had ſtopped in his expedition againſt Lydia.[p] Notwithſtanding a miſtake of this kind is of little conſequence, yet in one ſenſe it is material, and it may not be improper to refute it, in order to ſhew that he is very inaccurate in the moſt trifling details. We are told by Xenophon, who had a command under the Younger Cyrus, and was undoubtedly preſent, that he arrived at Dana[q] a great and flouriſhing

p "Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis, regionem quæ caſtra Cyri appellatur, pervenerat. Stativa ibi habuerat Cyrus, quum adverſum Cræſum in Lydiam duceret." Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. C. 4. Tom. 1.—82, 83.

q "Κυρος δε μετα των αλλων εξελαυνε δια Καππαδοκιας, σαθμους τεσσερας, παρασαγγας εικοσι ϗ πεντε, προς Δαναν, πολιν οικουμενην, μεγαλην ϗ ευδαιμονα· Ενταυθα εμεινεν ήμερας τρεις.——Ενταυθεν επειρωντο εσβαλλειν εις την Κιλικιαν ή δε εισβολη ην όδος άμαξιτος, ορθια ισχυρως, ϗ αμηχανος εισελθειν στρατευματι ει τις εκολυεν" (Xenophon de Cyri Exped. 17, 18. 4to Oxon. 1735.) Monſieur d'Anville thinks the text to have been corrupted, and that "Τυανα" is the true reading, but if he founds his opinion on Strabo, "Κυρινε στρατοπεδον δια Τυανων," (Lib. 12. Tom. 2.--813.) it is ſuſpicious authority, and even Strabo wants a correction before the "Κυρινε" can be transformed into "Κυρε." ——Hutchinſon ſeems to be of an opinion that "Αδανα" was the proper name of the city in queſtion, and in ſupport of it, he cites the following authors.---Ptolem. Lib. 5. Chap. 8.---Seylac Perip.--40.---Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 5. Chap. 27.---Steph. Byzant. Appian de Bello Mith.---Procop. Lib. 5. Ædific. 65.---Anton. Itin. 580.---See the diſſertation prefixed to his edition of the Anabaſis.

flouriſhing city, and after ſtaying there three days traverſed the boundaries of Cilicia.—Alexander's route agrees with that of the Younger Cyrus, and Arrian, who traces it with his uſual accuracy, hath alſo informed us, that the Grecian Hero occupied the ſame ground before he paſſed the Gorges of Cilicia, that the Perſian Prince had previouſly encamped on, with the ten thouſand Greeks.[r]—As the Macedonian army deſcended into the plains of Cilicia, Arſames evacuated the province, which according to Q. Curtius, Darius had entruſted to him, and retreating with the forces under his command, ſet the city of Tarſus on fire,[s] and laid

[r] "Arrian nous dit que le Conquerant Macedonien campa," (a repetition in ſubſtance of the "Qui campa avec ſon armée") but the text of Arrian will hardly reach theſe expreſſions, as Alexander marched immediately to carry this dangerous paſs by ſurpriſe, and left Parmenio with only the heavy armed infantry on this celebrated ground, who joined him early the next day. I have uſed a term that appears to me more analogous to the Greek.—"*Προηγεν επι τας πυλας της Κιλικιας. Και αφικομενος επι το Κυρυ του ξυν Ξενοφωντι στρατοπεδον, ὡς κατεχομενας τας πυλας φυλακαις ισχυραις ειδε, Παρμενιωνα μεν αυτου καταλειπει συν ταις ταξεσι των πεζων, ὁσοι βαρυτερον ὡπλισμενοι ησαν·* ——*Τη δ'ὑςηραια ἁμα τη εω ξυν τη δυναμει παση ὑπερβαλων τας πυλας, κατεβαινεν ες την Κιλικιαν·*" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.-111,112.) The deſcription which Q. Curtius hath left us of this paſſage, correſponds ſo perfectly with that of Xenophon, that there can be little doubt but they meant it for the ſame. "Anguſtias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, hoſtem jugumque imminens unde inultus ſubeuntem aut prohibere aut opprimere, potuiſſet.——Alexander fauces jugi, quæ Pylæ appellantur, intravit. Contemplatus locorum ſitus, non alias magis dicitur admiratus eſſe felicitatem ſuam: obrui potuiſſe vel ſaxis confitebatur, ſi fuiſſent, qui in ſubeuntes propellerent." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--84, 87.) The only heſitation that can remain will be, whether greater credit is due to Arrian and Xenophon, or Q. Curtius.

[s] "Brula la ville de Tarſe." I do not find that the city of Tarſus is ſaid to have been actually burnt by Arſames, though it was ſet on fire if we are to believe Q. Curtius, and ſaved from deſtruction by the fortunate arrival of Parmenio. "Pervenit ad urbem Tarſon, cui tum maxima Perſæ ſubjiciebant ignem; ne opulentum oppidum hoſtis invaderet. At ille Parmenione ad inhibendum

laid the whole country waſte. Arrian on the contrary, aſſures us that Alexander overreached Arſames, and that the Perſian general abandoned Tarſus and Cilicia without ſuch devaſtation,[t] or doing them any damage.——Information was given Alexander at Mallos, that Darius was encamped at Sochus in the Commagene, and on the receipt of the intelligence, he began his march, paſſed the mountains of Cilicia, and pitched upon a camp near the Myriander. Underſtanding that the Perſian army had changed its poſition, and quitted the advantageous poſt that it had occupied, he repaſſed the mountains in the night[w] by the Gorges of Syria, at the very hour that the Perſian troops were defiling by thoſe of Amanica, two paſſes which ſerve for a communication between Cilicia and the regions on this ſide of the Euphrates.[x] Q. Curtius hath given a very confuſed account of theſe important marches, and hath left the different movements of the armies in great obſcurity.[y] Diodorus[z] is ſtill leſs exact.

bendum incendium cum expeditâ manu premiſſo, poſtquam barbaros adventû ſuorum fugatos eſſe cognovit, urbem â ſe conſervatam intrat." Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--88.

[t] "*Ως τε ὁ Αρσαμης μαθων αυτου την ὁρμην σπουδη φευγει εκ της Ταρσου παρα βασιλεα Δαρειον, ουδεν βλαψας την πολιν*" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 4.--112.

[w] "Forte eâdem noſte et Alexander ad fauces, quibus Syria aditur, et Darius ad eum locum quem Amanicas Pylas vocant, pervenit." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.—107, 108.) Arrian hath deſcribed theſe manœuvres more at large. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 7, 8.--119, 124.

[x] See Cellarii Geograph. Ant. Lib. 3. Chap. 6.

[y] "Q. Curce pour n'etre pas entre dans aucun detail." Inſtead of it, he enters into an account of theſe movements to ſome extent, (Lib. 3. Chap. 8, 9, 10.) but he certainly entangles himſelf in a labyrinth of confuſion.

[z] Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.—183. Scarce worth a reference.

At the break of day the Macedonians deſcended from the mountains, and diſcovered with aſtoniſhment the Perſian line extended to a great length upon the plain. Alexander loſt no time in forming his army, the right being protected by the mountains and the left by the ſea,[a] a poſition which ought to have pointed out to Quintus Curtius the folly of advancing that the right was ſurrounded by the enemy.[b] This memorable battle was fought near Iſſus, and the Perſian cavalry performed prodigies of valour, though fortune again followed the Macedonian ſtandard. Many of the nobility of the Perſian court fell in this engagement, and after a gallant and generous defence of their unfortunate Monarch, were ſlain immediately before his eyes.[c]——The Greeks in the Perſian pay overturned every thing that was oppoſed to them, and the Macedonian phalanx manœuvring on unequal ground was under the neceſſity of breaking, and only repulſed at laſt with the utmoſt difficulty the repeated attacks that were made upon it by the enemy. Alexander was wounded in the action, but not by Darius, as Chares hath related, which was a circumſtance that he certainly

[a] "Ως δε διεχωρει ες πλατος, ανεπτυσσεν αει το κερας, ες φαλαγγα, αλλην και αλλην των ὁπλιτων ταξιν παραγων, τη μεν, ὡς επι το ὁρος, εν αριςερα δε, ὡς επι την θαλασσαν·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 8.--124, 125.

[b] "Dextrum Alexandri cornu circumibatur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11. Tom.—124.

[c] "Circa currum Darii jacebant nobiliſſimi duces, ante oculos regis egregiâ morte defuncti, omnes in orâ proni, ſicut dimicantes procubuerant, adverſo corpore vulneribus acceptis." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 3. Chap. 1. Tom. 1.--127.) Diodorus Siculus adds his teſtimony to the ſlaughter round Darius. "Περι μεν το τε Δαρειε τεθριππον ταχυ νεκρων εσωρευθη πληθος·" Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--185.

certainly would not have omitted in his letter to Antipater, where he ſimply mentions his being wounded in the thigh.[d] Q. Curtius[e] reduces the loſs of the conquerors to thirty-two of their infantry, and one hundred and fifty of their cavalry. Juſtin[f] makes it amount to one hundred and fifty of the former, and his number of the latter agrees with that of Q. Curtius and alſo Diodorus Siculus,[g] though the Grecian writer differs widely from them as to the infantry, and calculates the killed alone at three hundred. Arrian[h] only mentions the death of Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus, and of one hundred and twenty Macedonians of rank and dignity, who fell in the attack of the phalanx.[i] If however ſuch a conſiderable

[d] "Τρωθηναι ξιφει τον μηρον, ὡς μεν Χαρης φησιν, απο Δαρειου· (συμπεσειν γαρ αυτους εις χειρας) Αλεξανδρῳ δε περι της μαχης επιστελλων τοις περι τον Αντιπατρον, ουκ ειρηκεν, ὁστις ην ὁ τρωσας, ὁτι δε τρωθειη τον μηρον εγχειριδιῳ, δυσχερες δ'ουδεν απο του τραυματος συμβαιη, γεγραφεν·" (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--675.) Diodorus Siculus ſeems alſo to prove that the Macedonian Hero was wounded in the heat of the conflict, by ſome unknown hand. "Συνεβη και αυτον τον Αλεξανδρον τρωθηναι τον μηρον, περιχυθεντων των πολεμιων·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--185.) and Q. Curtius only mentions the accident in general terms.---"Inter quos Alexandri dextrum femur leviter mucrone perſtrictum eſt." Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11. Tom. 1.--128.

[e] "Ex parte Alexandri quatuor et quingenti ſaucii fuere: triginta omnino et duo ex peditibus deſiderati ſunt: equitum centum quinquaginta interfecti." Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11.---135.

[f] "Ex Macedonibus cecidere pedeſtres centum triginta, equites centum quinquaginta." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.--279.

[g] "Των δε Μακεδονων πεζοι μεν εις τριακοσιους, ἱππεις δε περι ἑκατον κ' πεντηκοντα·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--187.

[h] "Ενταυθα πιπτει Πτολεμαιος τε ὁ Σελευκε, ανηρ αγαθος γενομενος, κ' αλλοι ες εικοσι μαλιστα κ' ἑκατον, των ουκ ημελημενων Μακεδονων·" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--134.) Arrian hath left us in the dark as to the whole of Alexander's loſs, but the ſilence is ſuſpicious.

[i] "Dans un ſeul choc." I do not find that this expreſſion is correct. Arrian in the paſſage juſt

derable number of perſons of diſtinction fell in the attack of the phalanx only, our ideas of the number of the ſlain on the whole field of battle during this action, which was as long as it was bloody, muſt be very different from the accounts of the hiſtorians, that have been referred to. And though the hiſtorians agree in the loſs of the defeated army, no ſubſtantial reaſon is to be deduced from it, that adds any further credit to their calculations. One hundred thouſand of the Perſian infantry, and ten thouſand of their cavalry periſhed in this fatal day, according to the general account,[k] which was more than a ſixth of their whole forces, which they reckoned at ſix hundred thouſand men. Juſtin hath not adopted a much more moderate opinion, though he only reckons ſixty-one thouſand of their infantry[l] to have been killed, as he reduces the Perſian army to four hundred thouſand infantry, and one hundred thouſand cavalry.[m] Perhaps the text of this writer may have been corrupted, and we ought to read three hundred

juſt cited makes uſe of the term "Ενταυθα πιπτει," but it has not by any means that limited ſignification. I have left it more at large, and the Baron de St. Croix had before termed the attacks of the phalanx "Vives et reiterées."

k "Πληθος εις δεκα μαλιστα μυριαδας ηȣ εν τουτοις, ἱππεις υπερ τȣς μυριȣς." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.) "In acie autem cæſa ſunt Perſarum peditum centum millia, decem vero millia interfecta equitum." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. Chap. 11.--134, 135.) "Κατα δε την μαχην ετελευτησαν των βαρβαρων πεζοι μεν πλειȣς των δεκα μυριαδων, ἱππεις δε ȣκ ελαττȣς των μυριων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--187.

l "Cæſa ſunt peditum unum et ſexaginta millia, equitum decem millia." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.---279.

m "Darius cum quadringentis millibus peditum et centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 9.---277.

hundred thouſand men inſtead of four hundred thouſand, as the correſponding paſſage of Paulus Oroſius[n] his copyiſt gives us room to imagine. The manœuvres of the two armies on this celebrated day are deſcribed with great perſpicuity by Arrian, and he ſeems to be entirely free from the groſs errors, with which Polybius hath reproached Calliſthenes. The fragment of this author which contains this piece of military criticiſm, is entitled to a quotation at its full length.[o]——"In the account then which Calliſthenes has given of this battle, he relates; that Alexander had already led his army through the paſſes which are called the Pylæ of Cilicia, when Darius, having advanced along the paſſes of the mountain Amanus, and being informed by the people of the country, that his enemy ſtill continued his march forwards into Syria, reſolved to follow him. That when he arrived near the paſſes of Cilicia, he encamped along the river Pyramus: that the ground which he occupied contained a ſpace of only fourteen ſtadia from the ſea to the foot of the mountain: and that the river, falling down the craggy ſides of the mountain, ran obliquely through this ground, and paſſing over the plain, between

[n] "Darius cum trecentis millibus peditum et centum millibus equitum in aciem procedit."
P. Oroſius. Lib. 3. Chap. 16.---182.

[o] "Φησι μεν, Αλεξανδρον ηδε διαπεπορευσθαι τα στενα, καὶ τας λεγομενας εν τη Κιλικια Πυλας· Δαρειον δε, χρησαμενον τη δια των Αμανιδων λεγομενων Πυλων πορεια, καταραι μετα της δυναμεως εις Κιλικιαν. πυθομενον δε παρα των ἐγχωριων, προαϊεναι τον Αλεξανδρον ὡς επι Συριαν, ακολουθειν· καὶ συνεγγισαντα τοις στενοις, στρατοπεδευσαι παρα τον Πυναρον ποταμον· ειναι δε τα μεν τοπα το διαστημα ου πλειω των τετταρων καὶ δεκα σταδιων απο θαλαττης ἑως προς την παρωρειαν. δια δε τετα φερεσθαι τον προειρημενον ποταμον επικαρσιον, απο μεν των ορων ευθεως εκρηγμνα (πολλα ποιουντα) των πλευρων, δια δε των επιπεδων ἑως εις θαλασσαν

ſome hills that were rough and difficult of approach, diſcharged itſelf into the ſea. After this deſcription, he ſays; that, when Alexander returned back again with a deſign to engage, Darius and his officers drew up the whole phalanx in order of battle upon the very ground upon which they had encamped; and that they were covered in front by the river, which ran cloſe to the camp: that they poſted the cavalry near to the ſea: next to theſe, in the ſame line, the mercenaries, along the bank of the river, and laſtly the Peltaſtæ, adjoining to the foot of the mountain.

But it is not poſſible to conceive, that theſe troops could have been thus drawn up in order of battle between the phalanx and the river, if the river ran cloſe to the camp: eſpecially if we conſider the numbers of which the ſeveral bodies were compoſed. For the cavalry, as Calliſthenes himſelf affirms, amounted to thirty thouſand; and the mercenaries to as great a number. Now it is eaſy to determine, what extent of ground this number of troops would require. The uſual method of drawing up cavalry in

λασσαν αποτομους εχοντα κ᾽ δυσβατους λοφους. Ταυτα δ᾽ὑποθεμενος, επει συνεγγιζοιεν οἱ περι τον Αλεξανδρον, εξ ὑποστροφης επ᾽αυτους αναχωρουντες· κριναι, φησι, Δαρειον κ᾽ τους ἡγεμονας, την μεν φαλαγγα ταξαι πασαν εν αυτη τη στρατοπεδεια, καθαπερ εξ αρχης ειχε, χρησασθαι δε τω ποταμω προβληματι, δια το παρ᾽αυτην ρεειν την στρατοπεδειαν. Μετα δε ταυτα, φησι, τους μεν ἱππεις ταξαι παρα θαλατταν, τους δε μισθοφορους ἐξης τουτοις παρ᾽αυτον τον ποταμον εχομενους τουτων, τους δε πελταστας συναπτοντας τοις ὁρεσι.

Πως δε προεταξε τουτους προ της φαλαγγος, τω ποταμω ρεοντος παρ᾽αυτην την στρατοπεδειαν, δυσχερες κατανοησαι· κ᾽ ταυτα τω πληθει τοσουτων ὑπαρχοντων. τρισμυριοι μεν γαρ ἱππεις ὑπηρχον, ὡς αυτος ὁ Καλλισθενης

in the time of action is to range them eight in depth. It is neceſſary alſo to leave a certain ſpace between each of the troops in front, that they may be able to perform their ſeveral motions. A ſingle ſtadium then will contain eight hundred horſe; ten ſtadia, eight thouſand; and four ſtadia, three thouſand and two hundred. According to this computation, a body of eleven thouſand and two hundred horſe would have filled the whole extent of fourteen ſtadia. And if the whole thirty thouſand were formed in order of battle, there muſt have been three ſuch bodies, within a very ſmall number at leaſt, drawn up each behind the other. In what place then were the mercenaries ranged? Was it behind the cavalry? But Calliſthenes ſays no ſuch thing. On the contrary he affirms, that the mercenaries were engaged againſt the Macedonians in the very beginning of the action. It is manifeſt therefore, that one half of the ground that has been mentioned, the part that was on the ſide of the ſea, was occupied by the cavalry; and the other half, which was next to the mountain, by the mercenaries. And from hence we may clearly judge, what muſt have been the depth of the cavalry; and, by conſequence, how very diſtant the river muſt have been from the camp.

Afterwards

Καλλισθενης φησι, τρισμυριοι δε μισθοφοροι. ωσου δ' ειχον ἑτοι τοπυ χρειαν, ευχερες καταμαθειν. Πλειστον μεν γαρ ἱππεων ταττεται βαθω επ' οκτω ῳρος αληθινην χρειαν· ἡ μεταξυ των ιλων ἑκαστης συνυπαρχειν δει διαστημα τοις μετωποις, ῳρος το ταις επιστροφαις δυνασθαι ἡ τοις περισπασμοις ευχρηστειν. εξ ὡν το σαδιον οκτακοσιυς λαμβανει, τα δε δεκα τυς οκτακισχιλιυς, τα δε τετ[illegible]αρα τρισχιλιυς διακοσιυς· ὡς' απο των μυριων χιλιων διακοσιων πεπληρωσθαι τον των τεσσαρεσκαιδεκα σαδιων τοπον. εαν δε παντας εκτατ[illegible]η τυς τρισμυριυς, βραχυ λειπει τυ τριφαλαγγιαν επαλληλον ειναι των ἱππεων αυτων. Εις ῳοιον ὡν τοπον εταττετο

Afterwards he relates, that, when the enemy approached, Darius, who was in the centre of the line, called the mercenaries to him from one of the wings. But how was this poſſible? The very part in which the mercenaries were joined to the cavalry was itſelf the centre. If Darius then was among the mercenaries, how, or from whence, or to what place did he call them? He then adds alſo, that the cavalry upon the right wing advanced, and vigorouſly charged the Macedonians: that the latter received them with equal courage; and that the fight on both ſides was maintained with the greateſt bravery. But he forgets that there was a river between this cavalry and the Macedonians; and ſuch a river too, as he had juſt before deſcribed.

Nor is this writer more exact in his account with reſpect to Alexander. He ſays, that this Prince firſt carried with him into Aſia forty thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe: and that, when he was ready to enter Cilicia, a new ſupply arrived from Macedon, of five thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe.

τετο το των μισθοφορων πληθος; ει μη νη Δια κατοπιν των ἱππεων. αλλ' ε φησιν, αλλα συμπεπτωκεναι τυτυς τοις Μακεδοσι κατα την επαγωγην. εξ ων αναγκη, ποιεισθαι την εκδοχην, διοτι το μεν ἡμισυ τυ τοπυ, το παρα θαλατταν, ἡ των ἱππεων επειχε ταξις, το δ' ἡμισυ, το προς τοις ορεσιν, ἡ των μισθοφορων. εκ δε τυτων ευσυλλογιστον, ποσον ὑπηρχε το βαθος των ἱππεων, ᾗ ποιον εδει τοπον απεχειν τον ποταμον απο της στρατοπεδειας. Μετα δε ταυτα συνεγγιζοντων των πολεμιων, φησι, τον Δαρειον αυτον, κατα μεσην ὑπαρχοντα την ταξιν, καλειν τυς μισθοφορυς απο τυ κερατος προς αυτον. πως δε λεγεται τυτο, διαπορειν εγι. των γαρ μισθοφορων αναγκη ᾗ των ἱππεων την συναφην κατα μεσον ὑπαρχειν τον τοπον. ὡς' εν αυτοις ων τοις μισθοφοροις ὁ Δαρειος, πε, ᾗ προς τι, ᾗ πως εκαλει τυς μισθοφορυς; Το δε τελευταιον φησι, τυς απο του δεξιου κερατος ἱππεις επαγαγοντας εμβαλειν τοις περι τον Αλεξανδρον· τυς δε γενναιως δεξαμενυς αντεπαγειν, ᾗ ποιειν μαχην ισχυραν. ὁτι δε ποταμος ην εν μεσω, ᾗ ποταμος, ὁιον αρτιως ειπεν, επελαθετο.

Τουτοις

horſe. If we take then from theſe three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe; which is the greateſt number that can be allowed for occaſional and abſent ſervices; there will remain forty-two thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. With this army Alexander, as the hiſtorian writes, being informed, after he had advanced beyond the Pylæ, that Darius had entered Cilicia, and was at the diſtance of only a hundred ſtadia behind him, immediately returned, and directed his march back again through the paſſes: having the infantry in his van; behind theſe, the cavalry; and the baggage in the rear. As ſoon as he came into the open plain, he ſeparated the army from the baggage, and formed the troops into a phalanx, by thirty-two in depth. At ſome diſtance afterwards, he ranged them by ſixteen in depth: and at laſt, when he was come near to the enemy, by eight.

Now theſe abſurdities are even greater than thoſe that were before remarked. For when a body of troops marches by ſixteen in depth, if we allow the uſual intervals of ſix feet between every rank,

Τουτοις δ'εϛι παραπλησια τα κατα τον Αλεξανδρον. φησι γαρ, αυτον ποιησασθαι την εις την Ασιαν διαβασιν, πεζων μεν εχοντα τετταρας μυριαδας, ἱππεις δε τετρακισχιλιους καὶ πεντακοσιους. μελλοντι δ'εις Κιλικιαν εμβαλλειν, αλλος ελθειν εκ Μακεδονιας, πεζος μεν πεντακισχιλιους, ἱππεις δε οκτακοσιους. αφ'ὧν ει τις αφελοι τρισχιλιους μεν πεζους, τριακοσιους δ'ἱππεις, εϛι το πλειον ποιων την απουσιαν προς τας γεγενημενας χρειας· ὁμως πεζοι μεν απολειφθησονται τετρακισμυριοι δισχιλιοι, (ἱππεις δε πεντακισχιλιοι.) Τουτων υν ὑποκειμενων, φησι, τον Αλεξανδρον πυθεσθαι την Δαρειου παρουσιαν εις Κιλικιαν, ἑκατον απεχοντα σταδιους απ'αυτου, διαπεπορευμενον ηδη τα στενα. διοπερ εξ ὑπογυρφης παλιν ποιεισθαι την πορειαν δια των στενων, αγοντα πρωτον μεν την φαλαγγα, μετα δε ταυτα τους ἱππεις, επι πασι το σκευοφορον. ἁμα δε τω πρωτον εις τας ευρυχωριας εκπεσειν, διασκευαζεσθαι παραγγειλαντα πασιν επιπαρεμβαλειν την φαλαγγα, καὶ ποιησασθαι το βαθος αυτης επι τριακοντα καὶ δυο, μετα δε ταυτα παλιν εις εκκαιδεκα, το δε τελευταιον, εισεγγιζοντα

τοις

rank, a ſtadium will contain only ſixteen hundred men; ten ſtadia, ~~ſixteen~~ thouſand; and twenty ſtadia, thirty-two thouſand. If Alexander therefore formed his phalanx by ſixteen in depth, he muſt have filled a ſpace of twenty ſtadia, and would ſtill have wanted room for all his cavalry, and for ten thouſand of his foot. Calliſthenes then adds, that when this Prince was at the diſtance of forty ſtadia from the enemy, he ordered the phalanx to advance in an extended front towards them. A greater abſurdity than this is ſcarcely to be conceived. For where is the ground, eſpecially in Cilicia, that will admit ſuch a phalanx as is here deſcribed to advance in an extended front againſt an enemy: a ground, containing twenty ſtadia in depth, and forty in length? The impediments alſo, which would inevitably break the order of ſuch a diſpoſition, are too many to be recounted. Calliſthenes himſelf has mentioned one, which is alone ſufficient. For he ſays, that the torrents, which deſcended from the hills, had formed ſo many pits in the plain, that the greateſt part of the Perſians were loſt in thoſe cavities as they fled.

But

τοις πολεμιοις, εις οκτω. Ταυτα δ'εσι μειζω των προειρημενων αλογηματα. τη γαρ σαδιη λαμβανοντ@ ανδρας εν τοις πορευτικοις διασημασιν, οταν εις εκκαιδεκα το βαθ@ ωσι, χιλιους εξακοσιους, εκαση των ανδρων εξ ωδας απεχοντ@· φανερον, οτι τα δεκα σαδια ληψεται μυριους εξακισχιλιους, τα δε εικοσι τους διπλασιους. εκ δε τουτων ευθεωρητον, οτι, καθ'ον καιρον εποιησε την δυναμιν Αλεξανδρ@ εκκαιδεκα το βαθ@, αναγκαιον ην, εικοσι σαδιων υπαρχειν το τη τοπη διασημα, η περιτλευειν ετι τους μεν ιππεις παντας, των δε πεζων μυριους.

Μετα δε ταυτα φησι, μετωπηδον αγειν την δυναμιν, απεχοντα των πολεμιων περι τετλαρακοντα σαδιους. Τουτο δε μειζον αλογημα δυσχερες επινοησαι. που γαρ αν ευροι τις τοιουτους τοπους, αλλως τι η κατα Κιλικιαν, ωστε επι σαδιους εικοσι μεν το πλατ@, τετλαρακοντα δε το μηκ@, μετωπηδον αγειν φαλαγγα σαρισσοφορον;

But Alexander, perhaps this writer might ſay, was willing to be ready to receive the enemy, in what part ſoever they ſhould come to attack him. But nothing is more unfit for this purpoſe than the phalanx formed in an extended front, if this front be broken and diſunited. And would it not alſo have been much more eaſy, to have ranged the ſeveral parts of this great body in the very order in which they followed each of them the other in the march: inſtead of forming the whole army in a ſingle line, in which there muſt have been many vacancies, and leading it in an extended front to action, over a ground that was covered with buſhes and broken cavities. He ought rather then to have formed a double, or a quadruple phalanx. One part following behind another. For if the ground would have admitted this order in the march, there would have been time ſufficient to draw up the troops in the ſame order in battle: eſpecially as he might have received notice from his ſcouts of the approach of the enemy, even while they were at a conſiderable diſtance from him.

Another fault in this deſcription is, that the hiſtorian, while he repreſents the phalanx as advancing in an extended front over a

 plain,

φορον; τοσαυτα γαρ εστιν εμποδια προς την τοιαυτην ταξιν κ᾽ χρειαν, ἁ τις ἂν᾽ εξαριθμησαιτο ραδιως. εκ δε των ὑπ᾽ αυτου τε Καλλισθενους λεγομενων ἱκανον ὑπαρχει προς πιστιν. τους γαρ απο των ορων χειμαρρους καταφερομενους τοσαυτα φησι ποιειν ἐκρηγματα κατα το πεδιον, ὡστε κ᾽ των Περσων κατα την φυγην διαφθαρηναι λεγουσι τους πλειστους εν τοις τοιουτοις κοιλωμασι. Νη Δι, αλλ᾽ ἑτοιμῳ εβουλετ᾽ ειναι προς την των πολεμιων επιφανειαν. Τι δ᾽ ανετοιμοτερον φαλαγγι εν μετωπῳ διαλελυμενης κ᾽ διεσπαμμενης; πολυ γαρ εκ πορευτικης αγωγης ἁρμοζουσης παραταξαι ραδιον, η διαλελυμενην εν μετωπῳ κ᾽ διεσπασμενην δυναμιν επι την αυτην ευθειαν αναγαγειν. κ᾽ στησαι προς μαχην εν τοποις ὑλωδεσι κ᾽ περικεκλασμενοις; Διοπερ ουδε παρα μικρον ην κρειττον,

plain, forgets to make the cavalry march before; and places them upon the ſame line with the infantry. But the greateſt of all his miſtakes is this which follows. He ſays that Alexander, when he approached the enemy, drew up the phalanx eight in depth. The whole line therefore muſt have been equal in length to forty ſtadia. Or, let it be ſuppoſed, that the men ſtood ſo cloſe together, as even to be wedged one within another. In that caſe, they muſt have covered at the leaſt twenty ſtadia. And yet Calliſthenes had before affirmed, that the whole length of the ground was leſs than fourteen ſtadia: that a part of it, which was neareſt to the ſea, was occupied by one half of the cavalry: that the other half was poſted upon the right: and that between the whole line and the mountain there was left alſo a conſiderable diſtance; that the troops might not fall under a body of the enemy, which was poſted upon the ſides of the mountain. I know indeed, that, in order to oppoſe this body, he here forms a part of the line in the figure called the Forceps. Let us allow then ten thouſand men; which is even a greater number than this purpoſe would require.

χρειτ῀ον, ἀγειν διφαλαγγιαν ἡ τε῀τραφαλαγγιαν ἀρμοζουσαν· ει μὴ τοπον προς πορειαν ἑυρειν ουκ ἀδυνατον, μὴ το παραταξαι ταχεως ῥαδιον γε, δυναμενον δια των προδρομων εκ πολλου γινωσκειν την των πολεμιων παρουσιαν. Ὁ δε, χωρις των αλλων, ὐδε τὰς ἱππεις προεθετω, μετωπηδον ἀγων την δυναμιν εν τοποις επιπεδοις· αλλ' ἐξ ισου ποιει τοις πεζοις.

Το δε δὴ παντων μεγιϛον· ἠδη γαρ συνεγγυς οντα τοις πολεμιοις αυτον, εις οκτω ποιησαι φησι το βαθ῀ος. ἐξ ὲ δηλον, ὁτι κατ' ἀναγκην επι τετ῀ρακοντα ϛαδιους εδει γενεσθαι το μηκ῀ος της φαλαγγ῀ος. ει δ' ὁλως συνησπισαν κατα τον ποιητην ὁυτως, ὡϛε συνερεισαι προς αλληλους, ὁμως εικοσι ϛαδιων εδει τον τοπον υπαρχειν. αυτ῀ῳ δε φησι, λειπειν των δεκατεσσαρων ϛαδιων. μὴ τουτου μερ῀ος μεν τι προς θαλατ῀η τους ἡμισεας επι τω δεξι-

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require. In that caſe it is evident, that there would remain according to Calliſthenes, eleven ſtadia only at the moſt, for the length of the whole line: and that thirty-two thouſand men, contained in a ſpace of this extent, how cloſely ſoever they were crouded, muſt neceſſarily have been formed by thirty in depth. And yet Calliſthenes affirms, that at the time of the action they were ranged by eight. Miſtakes like theſe cannot even be excuſed. For what credit is to be given to things that are impoſſible? When a writer lays down the exact meaſure of the ground, fixes the number of the men, aſcertains the diſtance of one man from another, and gives afterwards an account which is wholly incompatible with all theſe circumſtances; the falſehood is too glaring to be pardoned.

It would be tedious to examine all the errors into which this writer has fallen. One or two more however may juſt be mentioned. He ſays that Alexander took care to draw up his army in

υ' ετι δε την ὁλην ταξιν απο των οργων ἱκανον τοπον αφεσαναι, προς το μη τοις πολεμιοις ὑποπεπτωκεναι τοις κατεχουσι τας παρωρειας. ισμεν γαρ ὁ ποιει προς τουτους επικαμπιον. ὑπολειπομεθα ϗ νυν ἡμεις τους μυριους πεζους, πλειους οντας της εκεινου προθεσεως ὡς'εκ τουτων ἑνδεκα σταδιους επι το πλειον απολειπεσθαι το της φαλαγγος μηκος, κατ'αυτον τον Καλλισθενην, εν ὁις αναγκη τους τρισμυριους ϗ δισχιλιους επι τριακοντα το βαθος ὑπαρχειν συνησπικοτας. ὁ δε φησιν, εις οκτω τεταγμενων γενεσθαι την μαχην. Τα δε τοιαυτα των ἁμαρτηματων ουδ'απολογιαν επιδεχεται· το γαρ αδυνατον εν παραγμασιν αυτοθεν εχει την πιστιν. διοπερ ὁταν ϗ τα κατ'ανδρα διασηματα, ϗ το παν του τοπου μεγεθος ὡρισμενον ὑποθωσι, ϗ τον αριθμον των ανδρων, αναπολογητον γινεται το ψευδος.

Τα μεν γαρ ἁμα τουτοις αλογηματα μακρον αν ειη λεγειν παντα, πλην τελεως ολιγων. Φησι γαρ, τον Αλεξανδρον σπουδαζειν κατα την ταξιν, ἱνα κατα τον Δαρειον αυτον ποιησηται την μαχην. ὁμοιως δε κατα

μεν

ſuch a manner, that he might himſelf be engaged againſt Darius: and that Darius alſo had at firſt the ſame intention with reſpect to Alexander; but that he afterwards altered his deſign. But he neither mentions, how theſe princes knew, in what part of their reſpective armies they ſeverally intended to engage; nor to what other part Darius retired, after he had changed his purpoſe. How again was it poſſible for the phalanx to advance, in order of battle, up the bank of a river, which was broken and uneven, and covered alſo with buſhes in almoſt every part? Such an abſurdity can never be aſcribed to Alexander; who is acknowledged to have been trained both in the ſtudy and the exerciſe of war from his earlieſt age. It muſt therefore be imputed to the hiſtorian himſelf; who, from a want of ſkill in matters of this kind, was unable to diſtinguiſh what was poſſible to be done from that which was impracticable."[p]

If the ſpectators of theſe actions have publiſhed ſuch faulty relations of them, and committed ſuch conſiderable miſtakes, the later writers who have too confidently followed them, muſt undoubtedly have been led into many errors by theſe dangerous guides.

The

μεν αρχας ϗ τον Δαρειον αυτον βουλεσθαι κατα του Αλεξανδρον, ὑσερον δε μετανοησαι. πως δ'επεγνωσαν αλληλους ὑτοι, που της ιδιας δυναμεως εχουσι την ταξιν, η που μετεβη παλιν ὁ Δαρειος, ἁπλως ουδεν λεγεται. πως δε προσανεβη προς την οφρυν του ποταμου φαλαγίτων ταξις, αποτομον ουσαν ϗ βατωδη; ϗ γαρ τουτο παρα λογον. Αλεξανδρω μεν ουν ουκ εποιτεον την τοιαυτην ατοπιαν ὁμολογουμενην, παραλαμβανοντας περι αυτου την εν τοις πολεμικοις εμπειριαν ϗ τριβην εκ παιδος· τω δε συγγραφει μαλλον. ὁς δια την απειριαν ουδε το δυνατον ϗ το μη δυνατον εν τοις τοιουτοις δυναται διευκρινειν." Polybius. Lib. 12. Chap. 17, 18. Tom. 3.--416——427.

[p] Hampton's Polybius. Vol. 4.--77——86. 8vo Edit. 1773.

The battle of Iſſus was fought in the month Mæmacterion, in the fourth year of the 111th Olympiad, when Nicocrates was Archon,[q] 333 years before Chriſt, and it decided the fate of Syria. Tyre had notwithſtanding the courage to ſhut its gates againſt the Conqueror, and to puniſh a reſiſtance as extraordinary as new to him in the regions of the Eaſt, it was immediately beſieged. All the reſources of art were employed in the defence of this unfortunate city, and they were ſeconded by the bravery of the inhabitants, who buried *themſelves under its ruins.* An accuracy, which leaves the reader nothing to deſire on the ſcore of information, diſtinguiſhes the pen of Arrian[r] in his account of the labours of this memorable ſiege; whilſt Q. Curtius,[s] from the luxuriance of his imagination, is rather the poet than hiſtorian. The conſtruction of the mole, which Alexander made for the purpoſe of joining[t] Tyre to the continent, was too remarkable a piece of work to be paſſed over, without the embelliſhment of ſome fictitious decorations. An immenſe ſea-monſter agitated for ſome time the water, then forced itſelf upon the Grecian works, and after having been the aſtoniſhment of the beſiegers and beſieged, again plunged

[q] In Arrian, Nicoſtrates. "Τουτο τελῳ τη μαχη εκεινη εγενετο, ετει αρχοντι Αθηναιοις Νικοστρατυ, μηνι Μαιμακτηριωνι." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 11.--139.) But Diodorus Siculus hath "Νικοκρατυς." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--181.

[r] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 18.--154——157.

[s] Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2, 3, 4. Tom. 1.--166——188.

[t] "Urbem â Continenti quatuor ſtadiorum fretum dividit." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--167.) A diſtance of about eight hundred yards. According to Scylax, "Απεχει σταδια απο θαλαττης, γ." (Perip. 101.) which reduces it to ſix hundred.

plunged into the boſom of the deep. Sometimes the enormous beaſt was wholly viſible; ſometimes it was partly concealed by the waves, and it finally diſappeared near the city walls.[v] Q. Curtius adds, that the aſſailants believed the monſter to have pointed out to them the preciſe place, towards which they were to carry on their works. The Tyrians entertained a different opinion of the prodigy, and conſidering it as an indication of Neptune's reſentment at the Macedonian encroachment on his empire of the ſea, they flattered themſelves with the expectation of ſeeing the whole ſpeedily ſwept away.

Alexander during the ſiege of Tyre, according to Arrian[w] and Q. Curtius,[x] made an excurſion into Arabia. Plutarch[y] only tells us that he marched againſt the Arabs of Anti-Libanus, which Q. Curtius miſtakes for Libanus itſelf. The firſt of theſe moun-

tains,

[v] "Belua inuſitatæ magnitudinis, ſuper ipſos fluctus dorſo eminens, ad molem, quam Macedones jecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit; diverberatiſque fluctibus adlevans ſemet, utrinque conſpecta eſt, deinde â capite molis rurſus alto ſe immerſit; ac modo ſuper undas eminens magnâ ſui parte, modo ſuperfuſis fluctibus, condita, haud procul munimenta urbis emerſit. Utriſque lætus fuit beluæ adſpectus: Macedones iter jaciendo operi monſtraſſe eam augurabantur; Tyrii Neptunum occupati maris vindicem adripuiſſe beluam, ac molem brevi profecto ruituram." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--183, 184.

[w] "Εν τουτω δε αναλαβων των δε ἱππεων ιλας τινας, καὶ τους ὑπασπιςας, καὶ τους Αγριανας τε καὶ τους τοξοτας, επ' Αραβιας ςελλεται εις τον Αντιλιβανον καλουμενον το ορος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 20.--160.

[x] "Cum expeditâ manu Arabiam petiit." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 3. Tom. 1.--174.

[y] "Δια μεσου δε της πολιορκιας επι τους Αραβας τους προσοικουντας τω Αντιλιβανω ςρατευσας." Plut. Vit, Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--678.

tains, from the proximity of its ſituation, naturally furniſhed the Macedonian army with many of the materials, which they wanted for the ſiege; and as the Arabs had diſturbed and plundered the workmen,[z] Alexander went with a detachment againſt them, to repreſs their depredations, and revenge the inſult, which gave occaſion to the ſuppoſed conqueſt of Arabia. Pliny[a] then advances without any foundation whatever, that the Conqueror, after having reduced the country, diſpatched a veſſel freighted with incenſe, for Leonidas his preceptor.

A civil war prevented Carthage from affording Tyre any ſuccours in its diſtreſs;[b] but Q. Curtius is guilty of an Anachroniſm,

[z] "In Libano quoque Arabum agreſtes incompoſitos Macedones adgreſſi triginta fere interfici-unt, paucioribus captis." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--174.

[a] "Alexandro Magno in pueritiâ ſine parſimoniâ thura ingerenti aris, pædagogus Leonides dixerat, ut illo modo, cum deviciſſet thuriferas gentes, ſupplicaret. At ille Arabiâ potitus, thure onuſtam navem miſit ei, exhortatus ut large Deos adoraret. (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 12. Chap. 32. Tom. 3.--26.) Pliny appears to have borrowed this anecdote from Plutarch, but it hath loſt nothing by the repetition. "Επιθυμιωντι δε τοις Θεοις αφειδως αυτω, κ᾽ πολλακις επιδρατ᾽ομενω τ᾽ λιβανωτ᾽, παρων Λεωνιδης ὁ παιδαγωγ@, Ουτως, ειπεν, ω παι δαψιλως επιθυμιασεις, ὁταν της Λιβανωτοφορ᾽ κρατησης· ὡς αν εκρατησεν, επεμψεν επιςολην προς αυτον, Απεςαλκα σοι ταλαντα ἑκατον Λιβανωτ᾽ κ᾽ κασιας ἱνα μηκετι μικρολογη προς τ᾽ς Θεους, ειδως ὁτι κ᾽ της αρωματοφορ᾽ κρατ᾽μεν." (Plutarch. Apothegm. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--179.) The "navem onuſtam" I ſuſpected from the firſt.

[b] " Je ne vois dans l'hiſtoire," ſays Monſr Bougainville, " aucun fait qu'on puiſſe appliquer ici, ſi ce n'eſt peut etre le complot tramé contre la liberte de Carthage, par un de ſes premiers citoyens, que Juſtin nomme Hannon." (Juſt. Lib. 21. Chap. 4.--471, 472.) "Cette conſpiration n'eut pas de ſuites, quoique le chef de l'enterpriſe eut armé vingt mille eſclaves, et ſoulevé quelques nations Africaines ſujettes de la republique. Mais tant que la revolte dura, l'alarme dut etre vive à Carthage; et comme l'auteur qui nous apprend le fait, n'en donne point la date, on peut, ſi je ne me trompe, preſumer que ce fut cette guerre domeſtique qui reduiſit les Carthaginois à n'etre que

niſm,[c] when he tells us that the Syracuſians, who were then waſting Africa rendered it impracticable for the Carthaginians to ſend the powerful reinforcement to their metropolis, that they intended. ——The ſucceſsful deſcent of Agathocles,[d] near Tunis, 310 years before Chriſt, was the only inſtance in which the Syracuſian colours appeared floating in the plains of Africa, and this was twenty-two years after the capture of Tyre, which was taken in the month Hecatombœon, in the firſt year of the 112th Olympiad, at the commencement of the magiſtracy of Anicetus, called Nicetus

que ſpectateurs oiſifs du deſaſtre de Tyr. Memoires ſur le Voyage d'Hannon." (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions et des belles-lettres. Tom. 28.--282.) Reineccius hath nearly the ſame ideas.—Hiſt. Jul. 11.--455.

[c] "In iiſdem diebus forte Carthaginienſium legati triginta ſuperveniunt, majus obſeſſis ſolatium quam auxilium: quippe domeſtico bello Pænos impediri, nec de imperio ſed pro ſalute dimicare nuntiabant. Syracuſani tunc Africam urebant, et haud procul Carthaginis muris locarunt caſtra." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 3. Tom. 1.--179.) The commentators have unanimouſly admitted the falſity of this hiſtorical error, and the Jeſuit Rader (ad Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 11.--144) hath ſuppoſed, that Timoleon had defeated about this time the Carthaginians, and ravaged all their territories in Sicily, and that they were apprehenſive of his landing with his troops and attacking Carthage. Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch, in their abſtract of this great man's life, have given an account of his very formidable operations; but as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 16. Tom. 2.--145.) that a peace was agreed to by the Carthaginians and Timoleon, when Lyſimachides was Archon at Athens, in the ſecond year of the 110th Olympiad, and Tyre was not beſieged till the latter end of the fourth year of the 111th Olympiad, an interval of nearly ſix years muſt have effectually relieved them from any fears of ſuch a ſerious attack.---Timoleon alſo died in the fourth year of the 110th Olympiad, four years before the ſiege of Tyre.

[d] "Agathocles, victis hoſtibus, urbes caſtellaque expugnat, prædas ingentes agit, hoſtium millia trucidat. Caſtra deinde in quinto lapide â Carthagine ſtatuit, ut damna cariſſimarum rerum, vaſtitatemque agrorum, et incendia villarum, de muris ſpecularentur." (Juſtin. Lib. 22. Chap. 6.--488.) The Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion is "Par ſa deſcente aux Lathomies pres de Tanete." Diodorus Siculus ſtates it "Προς τας καλυμενας Λατομιας," and he adds afterwards "Τυνητα καλυμενον αναζευξας." (Lib. 20. Tom. 2.--410, 411.) Strabo fixes the ſituation more preciſely: "Εν αυτω δε τω κολπω εν ω πις ϗ ἡ Καρχηδων Τυνις εϛι πολις, ϗ Θερμα, ϗ λατομιαι τινες" Lib. 17.--1191.

Nicetus[e] by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, and Nicerates by Diodorus Siculus.[f]

Tyre, celebrated for its riches, and its numerous colonies, was taken by aſſault after a reſiſtance, that could not have been expected from a commercial people, who had long neglected their military eſtabliſhment. But the love of liberty will often animate the common boſom with ſuperior energy, and in a phrenſy for their Freedom, men of ordinary capacities are frequently expanded into heroes. The loſs of the beſieged is reckoned at ſeven thouſand by Diodorus Siculus,[g] and at ſix thouſand by Q. Curtius,[h] but the difference in the calculation of the number of the priſoners is more conſiderable. The latter writer ſtates thoſe only, who were ſaved by a pious fraud of the Sidonians in Alexander's camp, at fifteen thouſand:[i] Diodorus Siculus reckons them excluſive of

[e] Dion. Halicarnaſſ. de Dinarcho. Tom. 5.--649.

[f] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--189. Much information on this ſubject may be collected from Meurſius de Archon. Athen. Lib. 4. Chap. 13.

[g] "Οι δε Τυριοι προς αλκην τραπεντες, κ) παρακαλεσαντες αλληλους, ανεφραξαν τας σενωπας, κ) μαχομενοι πλην ολιγων ἁπαντες κατεκοπησαν, ουτες πλειους των ἑπτακισχιλιων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --195.

[h] "Intra munimenta urbis ſex millia armatorum trucidata ſunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--187.) Arrian ſwells the account to eight thouſand: "Απεθανον δε των μεν Τυριων ες οκταχισχιλιους" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.--171.) but he certainly takes in the whole ſiege.

[i] "Le dernier ecrivain les fait monter à 15,000," but in the paſſage of Q. Curtius that is referred to, he hath only taken into his account the priſoners ſaved by the Sidonians, which is a circumſtance that the Baron de St. Croix hath not attended to. "Multis tamen ſaluti fuere Sidonii,

thoſe that were tranſported to Carthage, to have been above thirteen thouſand,[k] and Arrian takes the whole to have amounted to thirty thouſand,[l] which hath the appearance of moſt probability, and is more conſiſtent with the population of a city as flouriſhing as Tyre was then known to have been. Two thouſand of theſe miſerable captives were faſtened upon croſſes, and hung up by the order of the Conqueror, according to Q. Curtius[m] on the ſhore; and Diodorus Siculus[n] aſſures us that even all the Tyrian youth was compriſed within this ſanguinary ſentence. It is however ſuppreſſed by Arrian,[o] and if we are to reaſon from the humanity

Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum præſidia erant, hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, ſed cognationis cum Tyriis memores (quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidiſſe credebant) multos Tyriorum etiam protegentes, ad ſua perduxere navigia: quibus occultatis, Sidona devecti ſunt. Quindecim millia hoc furto ſubducta ſævitiæ ſunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 4. Tom. 1.--186, 187.

k "Diodore à 13, 000." The Greek text eſtimates them at ſomewhat above thirteen thouſand. "Σωματα δ'αιχμαλωτα τοσαυτα το πληθος ευρεθη, ὡστε των πλειστων εις Καρχηδονα κεκομισμενων, τα ὑπολειφθεντα γενεσθαι πλειω των μυριων ἡ τρισχιλιων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--196.

l "Και επραθησαν Τυριων τε ἡ ξενων ὁτοι εγκατελημφθησαν, μαλιστα ες τρισμυριους." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.-171.) Though there muſt have been many foreigners in a commercial city like Tyre, yet in compariſon with the reſt of the inhabitants they could hardly form an item in the calculation.

m "Triſte deinde ſpectaculum victoribus ira præbuit regis. Duo millia, in quibus occidendi defecerat rabies, crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris ſpatium pependerunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap 4. Tom. 1.--187.

n "Τους δε νεους παντας, ὀντας ουκ ελατους των δισχιλιων, εκρεμασε." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--195.

o This barbarous anecdote is recorded by Diodorus Siculus and Q. Curtius, and though Arrian hath omitted it, I fear, it was from that ſort of diſcreet ſilence, which furniſhes a ſtrong preſumptive

humanity, which had hitherto diſtinguiſhed Alexander's actions, whoſe heart proſperity had not yet hardened, a doubt, for his honour, may be ſtill entertained of this ſignal inſtance of cruelty and vengeance.—Notwithſtanding the preciſion with which Juſtin ſpeaks of the ſiege of Tyre,[p] he hath to anſwer for ſome groſs errors. This city, he pretends, was ſoon treacherouſly delivered into Alexander's hands, but from its vigorous reſiſtance for ſeven months, it is evident that it was not ſo very ſpeedily captured; and as all the hiſtorians agree in the account of its obſtinate defence, the Tyrian glory is not to be ſullied by the ſuppoſed

 infamy

ſumptive evidence of the truth of the accuſation. In the lax ſyſtem of ancient morality, the moſt flagrant abuſes of the right of conqueſt were not uncommon; and we frequently read of whole nations being exterminated with a ſtern indifference to their ſufferings. Julius Cæſar in a later period put the whole Senate of Vannes to death, though they had ſurrendered and thrown themſelves upon his mercy, (Cæſar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 3. Chap. 16.--152. 4to 1737.) and the ſame deſtructive principles are often viſible in the future progreſs of the Gallic war. (Cæſar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 6. Chap. 43.--340. Lib. 7. Chap. 28.--372.) In juſtice to Alexander's character, he certainly had ſome provocations for his extraordinary irritation. Q. Curtius tells us, "Quum et claſſem procul haberet, et longam obſidionem magno ſibi ad cetera impedimento videret fore: caduceatores qui ad pacem eos compellerent, miſit; quos Tyrii contra jus gentium occiſos præcipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille ſuorum tam indigna nece commotus, urbem obſidere ſtatuit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. Chap. 2. Tom. 1.--171.) And Arrian hath ſubſtantiated the fact, though it varies in a few particulars. "Οργη γαρ εχωρουν επιτων οι Μακεδονες, της τε πολιορκιας τη τριβη αχθομενοι, και ὁτι λαβοντες τινας αυτων οι Τυριοι πωλουντας εκ Σιδονος, επι το τειχος αναβιβασαντες ὁπως απορατον ειη απο τε στρατοπεδε, σφαξαντες ερριψαν εις την θαλασσαν"' (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 24.--170, 171.) Retaliation and revenge were cardinal virtues in many Pagan codes of Ethics, and it is no wonder, that ſuch a ſpectacle ſhould have been followed by ſevere and exemplary vengeance.

[p] "Non magno poſt tempore per proditionem capiuntur." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 10.--284.

infamy of a few traitors.——It is the wiſh of Polyænus [q] to reduce almoſt all military manœuvres to ſtratagems, and we need not therefore be ſurpriſed to receive the information, that Alexander ſet out for Arabia, and the beſieged in his abſence made an advantageous and ſucceſsful ſally. On the intelligence of this accident, which Parmenio conveyed to him, he returned immediately, and whilſt one part of the army made a feint of retreating and raiſing the ſiege, he entered with another body of his troops into Tyre, which had been left open and unguarded. Such circumſtances are exactly conſonant to the plan of Polyænus, but they do not in the leaſt coincide with the relations of the other hiſtorians.

Alexander marched from Tyre to Gaza, and from Gaza into Egypt. This was the Macedonian route, as related unanimouſly and without any difference, by all the hiſtorians of the Conqueror's exploits. Joſephus hath alone the confidence to contradict the united evidence of the companions of Alexander's arms, and he tells us that the Conqueror, being diſſatisfied with the Jews, advanced after the capture of Gaza towards Jeruſalem, [r] with the reſolution

[q] "Αλεξανδρ@- Τυρε πολιορκιαν περιβαλων επ'Αραβιας εξελλετο· Τυριοι της απουσιας αυτε καταφρονησαντες, των τειχων προελθοντες, τοις Μακεδοσι προσπεσοντες εκρατεν πολλαχη· Παρμενιων Αλεξανδρον ανακαλειται· Ὁ δε δια ταχυς επανελθων, Μακεδονων τυς εγκλινοντας ιδων, τοις ἡττωμενοις ικ εβοηθησεν· ες δε την πολιν κενην ανδρων ὁρμησας, κατα κρατ@- αἱρει την Τυρον." Polyænus. Lib. 4. Chap. 8.--327. 8vo 1691.

[r] "Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρ@- εξελων την Γαζαν, επι την των Ιεροσολυμιτων πολιν αναβαινειν εσπευδακει." Joſephus. Ant. Jud. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--580.

reſolution of chaſtiſing[s] them for their attachment to Darius, and their refuſal of military ſuccours and proviſion for the Macedonian army. But a general of Alexander's talents could not have been ſo imprudent as to have left a city of this magnitude behind him, whoſe enmity to him was decided, and whoſe inhabitants might have cut off his ſupplies. Arrian, who hath minutely attended to every action of his hero, would undoubtedly have mentioned the reduction of a place of ſuch importance, and in the very circumſtantial journal of Alexander's marches which he hath preſerved, that to Jeruſalem would not have been omitted. The pacific diſpoſition of the Jews, when the Conqueror approached, would as certainly have been ſpoken of, if this expedition from Gaza had not been an anachroniſm of Joſephus, who ſeems to have varied the order of events, without breaking in upon their truth.[t]

Arrian

[s] "Qui avoient donné du ſecours aux Tyriens." There is not a ſingle ſyllable expreſſive of any ſupport having been given to the Tyrians. I have abandoned, therefore, the ſenſe of the French ſentence and ſubſtituted in ſome meaſure the original ſentiment of Joſephus. "Ηξιωτε, αποστειλας γραμματα προς τον των Ιουδαιων αρχιερεα, συμμαχιαν τε αυτω πεμπειν, κ᾽ αγοραν τω στρατευματι παρασχειν, κ᾽ οσα Δαρειω προτερον ετελουν δωρα τουτω διδοναι, την Μακεδονων φιλιαν ἑλομενον, ου γαρ μετανοησειν επι τουτοις· του δε αρχιερεως αποκριναμενου τοις γραμματοφοροις, ὡς ὁρκους ειη Δαρειω δεδωκως, μη βασταζειν ὁπλα κατ᾽ αυτου, κ᾽ τουτους εως αν η Δαρειῳ εν τοις ζωσι μη παραβησεσθαι φησαντος· ακουσας Αλεξανδρος παρωξυνθη, κ᾽ την μεν Τυρον ουκ εκρινε καταλιπειν, ὁσον ουδεπω μελλουσαν ἁιρεσθαι· παρασησαμενος δε ταυτην, ηπειλησε στρατευειν επι τον των Ιουδαιων αρχιερεα, κ᾽ διδαξειν παντας δι αυτου, προς τινας δη αυτοις φυλακιτεον τους ὁρκους· ὁθεν πονικωτερον χρησαμενος τη πολιορκια, λαμβανει την Τυρον· κατασησαμενος δε τα εν αυτη, επι την Γαζαιων πολιν ηλθεν." Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--579, 580.

[t] I cannot ſubſcribe without ſome limitations to the authority of as late a writer as Euſebius, but his reſidence in Paleſtine, as Biſhop Newton obſerves (Diſſertation on the Prophecies. 15.—

Arrian [v] only tells us, that all Paleſtine had ſubmitted, Gaza excepted, and conſequently Alexander had no occaſion to quit the line of his intended march, and enter Judæa, for the purpoſe of reducing it. An examination of the circumſtances, related by the Jewiſh hiſtorian, may perhaps lead us to a definitive opinion on their authenticity.

The high prieſt Jaddua,[w] in the habit of the prieſthood, and its ſplendid ornaments, leaves Jeruſalem to meet the Conqueror, and implore his clemency. Alexander ſtruck with his majeſtic mien, and venerable appearance, proſtrates himſelf before him, and adores the Deity, whoſe name was engraven in golden characters upon the tiara of the pontiff.[x] Parmenio, continues Joſephus,

Vol. 2.--41.) adds weight to his evidence, and he aſſerts that Alexander marched from Tyre into Judæa. "Αλεξανδρ@ Τυρον ἁμα Σιδωνι δηωσας επι την Ιυδαιαν ελθων, ϗ ταυτην ϖαραλαβων, τον ἱερεα Ιαδδεν ετιμησε, θυσας τε τω Θεω·" (Chron. Can. 177.) Uſher agrees with him in opinion, (Annales, 160. Fol. 1722.) and alſo our Prideaux, who imagines Joſephus to have been miſtaken. Connect. of the hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament. Part. 1ſt. Book 7. Vol. 1.--386. Fol. 1728.

v "Και ην αυτω τα μεν αλλα της Παλαιϛινης καλυμενης Συριας, ϖροσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη· ευνυχ@ δε τις ὡ ονομα ην Βατις, κρατων της Γαζαιων ϖολεως, ε ϖροσειχεν Αλεξανδρω·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. Chap. 25.--173.

w "Προεισι μετα των ἱερεων ϗ τυ ϖολιτικυ ϖληθυς, ἱεροπρεπη ϗ διαφερυσαν των αλλων εθνων ϖοιυμεν@ την ὑπαντησιν εις τοπον τινα Σαφα λεγομενον,——————'Ο Αλεξανδρ@, ετι ϖορρωθεν ιδων το μεν ϖληθ@ εν ταις λευκαις εσθησι, τυς δε ἱερεις ϖρωεϛωτας εν ταις βυσσιναις αυτων, τον δε αρχιερεα εν τη ὑακινθινη ϗ διαχρυσω ϛολη, ϗ επι της κεφαλης εχοντα την κιδαριν, ϗ το χρυσυν επ' αυτης ελασμα, ὡ το τυ Θευ ενεγεγραπτο ονομα, ϖροσελθων μον@, ϖροσεκυνησε το ονομα, ϗ τον αρχιερεα ϖρωτ@ ησπασατο." Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

x "Ce prince avoit ſans doute un interprete pour connoitre le ſens de l'inſcription." I do not think this ſceptical ſneer deſerves a tranſlation. It is in fact but the Crambe concocta of Vandale.

"Unde

ſephus,[y] expreſſed his aſtoniſhment to Alexander, and aſked his reaſons for this extraordinary humiliation, and why he had fallen ſo inconſiſtently at the high prieſt's feet, when univerſal adoration had hitherto been paid to him. Alexander replied, that he did not worſhip the high prieſt, but the Deity, whoſe miniſter he was; and he then informed his general, that a perſon like Jaddua, and in his habit, had appeared to him in a dream before he left Macedonia, and had announced to him the ſupport of heaven in the war that he then meditated againſt the Perſian empire. The Prince added, that on his ſeeing the high prieſt, he inſtantly recollected the figure in ſtature and dreſs, which had appeared to him.

The obſervation of Parmenio is a ſuſpicious circumſtance,[z] as Alexander had not hitherto pretended to any divine honours, nor exacted

"Unde vero is quoque inſcriptionem iſtam in laminâ Tiaræ legere, atque ita intelligere potuerit, quod illa veri Dei nomen eſſet, ut inde talis adoratio ipſius, ante alloquium pontificis ſecuta ſit, non comprehendo." Diſſert. ſuper Ariſtæam. 77.

y "Παρμενιων δε μονε προσελθοντ αυτω, κ̀ πυθυμενε, τι δηποτε προσκυνετων αυτον ἁπαντων αυτ προσκυνησε των Ιεδαιων αρχιερεα ε τετον, ειπε, προσκυνησα, τον δε Θεον, ε τη αρχιερωσυνη αυτ τετιμη ται· τετον γαρ κ̀ κατα τες ὑπνες ειδον εν των νυν σχηματι, εν Διω της Μακεδονιας τυγχανων· κ̀ προς εμαυτον διασκεπτομενω μοι πως αν κρατησαιμι της Ασιας, παρεκελευετο μη μελλειν, αλλα θαρσυντα διαβαινειν· αυτ γαρ ἡγησεσθαι μοι της στρατιας κ̀ την Περσων παραδωσειν αρχην· ὁθεν αλλον μεν ενδεκα θεασαμεν εν τοιαυτη στολη· τετον δε νυν ιδων κ̀ της κατα τες ὑπνες επιμνησθεις οψεως τε κ̀ παρακελευσεως, νομιζω θεια πομπη την στρατειαν πεποιημεν Δαρειον νικησειν, κ̀ την Περσων καταλυσειν δυναμιν, κ̀ παντ'ὁσα κατα νεν εσι μοι προχωρησειν"' Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581.

z "La diſcours de Parmenion prouve la fauſſeté de tout ce recit." I differ in opinion, and have accordingly qualified the expreſſion. The ſubject I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to reſume.

exacted any adoration before the death of Clitus, which happened long after this ſuppoſed interview, ſo little appoſite to the character and genius of the Grecian Hero. Beſides, the high prieſt Jaddua died, according to the chronicle of Alexandria, ſome years before Darius mounted the Perſian throne.—The immortal Newton, who hath poured ſuch an effuſion of light on the ſucceſſion of the Jewiſh high prieſts after the return of that nation from captivity, makes alſo Jaddua to have lived under Artaxerxes Mnemon; and Simon the Juſt, agreeable to his computation, was the high prieſt at the time of the invaſion of the Perſian empire by the Greeks, who had ſucceeded to the exerciſe of this high function, on the death of his father Onias the ſon of Jaddua.[a]

Alexander, on his entry into Jeruſalem, went up to the temple, where they ſhewed him the paſſages in the prophecies of Daniel, which related to him, and he afterwards offered ſacrifices to the Deity on the Jewiſh altars.[b] Jealous of this preference, the Samaritans requeſted that he would alſo honour their city with his devotions.[c] But Joſephus here contradicts himſelf, and forgets his

[a] Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology of ancient kingdoms. 363, 365. 4to 1728.

[b] "Εις την πολιν παραγινεται· κ᾽ ανελθων επι το ἱερον, θυει μεν τω Θεω κατα την τυ αρχιερεως ὑφηγησιν, αυτον δε τον αρχιερεα κ᾽ τυς ἱερεις αξιοπρεπως ετιμησε· δειχθεισης δε αυτω της Δανιελυ βιβλυ, εν ᾗ τινα των Ελληνων καταλυσειν την Περσων αρχην εδηλυ, νομισας αυτ῾ειναι ὁ σεμαινομεν῾, τοτε μεν ἡσθεις απελυσε το πληθ῾." Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1--582.

[c] "Και παρεκαλεν, παραγενομενον προς την πολιν αυτων τιμησαι κ᾽ το παρ᾽αυτοις ἱερον." Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. Chap. 8. Tom. 1.--581, 582.

his having mentioned the permiſſion to build a temple, given by Alexander during the ſiege of Tyre to theſe enemies of the Hebrews,[d] which could not have been finiſhed in ſuch a ſhort ſpace of time.

The ſame hiſtorian informs us, that Alexander was attended in this expedition by Phœnicians and Chaldæans,[e] but was it poſſible for them to have accompanied him, when they were at that time his declared enemies, and had not then acknowledged him for their maſter ?[f] The high prieſt, is ſaid likewiſe, to have applied to the Conqueror for a grant to the Jews, who were at Babylon,

[d] "Προς Αλεξανδρον ήκε· ϗ καταλαβων αυτον της Τυρϑ πολιορκιας——————συγχωρησαντ@ δε Αλεξανδρϑ, πασαν εισενεγκαμεν@ σπϑδην, ωκοδομησεν ὁ Σαναβαλλετης τον ναον." (Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--580.) Prideaux admits the Samaritan temple, in which Alexander was requeſted to ſacrifice, muſt have been ſome other temple, or that Joſephus muſt have been miſtaken reſpecting it, as the foundations of that, which Alexander allowed them to build, could ſcarcely have been laid by this time. (Connect. of the Hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament. Part 1ſt. Book 7. Vol. 1.--386.) Joſephus however makes uſe of the words "Σπϑδην ωκοδομησεν," and provided the materials were ready, and they had a ſufficient number of workmen, the building might have been ſoon run up. We are ſtrangers to the dimenſions of this edifice, but as Sanballat was the head only of a ſect, which had ſeparated from the mother church, in all likelihood it was not large. In the Jewiſh war, Joſephus hath likewiſe given as a wonderful example of the rapidity, with which a wall of very conſiderable extent was conſtructed, that ſurrounded Jeruſalem, "Το μεν ϑν τειχ@ ἑν@ δεοντ@ τεσσερακοντα ϛαδιων ην, εξωϑεν δε αυτω προσωκοδομηϑη τρισκαιδεκα ϕϱϑϱιαι, ϗ τϑτων ὁι κυκλοι δεκα συνηριθμϑντο ϛαδιων· τρισι δ'ωκοδομηϑη το παν ἡμεραις." De Bello Judaico. Lib. 5. C. 12. Tom. 2.--358.

[e] "Των δε Φοινικων ϗ των ακολϑϑντων Χαλδαιων." Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.-.581.

[f] Phœnicia, muſt, I apprehend, have been then conquered: as to the Chaldæans, ſome individuals undoubtedly might have attended Alexander, and Joſephus does not intimate their number.

and in Media, of the free exercise of their religion. [g] Yet this request, as the learned Moyle [h] hath judiciously observed, supposes Alexander to have been already in possession of that part of Asia beyond the Euphrates, which was evidently false, as it was reduced only under his subjection in the following year.

After a confirmation of the privileges of the Jewish nation, Alexander left Jerusalem, and marched with his army to the neighbouring cities. Josephus thus finishes his relation with an error. The Macedonian Conqueror neither retarded his march to attack places, which opened their gates to him, nor wasted his time in receiving their useless homages, but pushed forwards from Gaza directly to Pelusium.

To sum up the whole, the silence of Scripture weakens the credit of this narrative of Josephus; [i] which hath been adopted and

[g] "Ινα καὶ τοις εν Βαβυλωνι καὶ Μηδια Ιουδαιοις τοις ιδιοις επιτρεψη νομοις χρησασθαι." Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib. 11. C. 8. Tom. 1.--582.

[h] Moyle's Remarks upon Prideaux. Connect. Moyle's Works. Vol. 2.--32. I confess I see no absurdity in this request. Alexander was then in a course of hostilities, which must directly have conducted him to Babylon and into Media, and the Jewish high priest might with strict propriety have petitioned for this liberty of conscience, foreseeing Alexander's future conquests, which were announced in the passages of the Prophet Daniel, that he had just shewn and explained to him.

[i] This hypothesis, though it may have a specious appearance of solidity, will not stand the test of severe and rigid examination. Numerous events are recorded in the sacred writings, but it cannot be from thence inferred, that they have recorded every event which happened. The Scriptural

and magnified by the writers of the middle age,[k] though its authenticity hath been diſputed by ſeveral modern authors.[l]

Taking into cool and candid conſideration the circumſtances of the event, they may not altogether be as glorious for the cauſe of religion, as ſome perſons, with more ſuperſtition than diſcernment, have piouſly believed. The true faith could not have received much honour from the caſual adoration of the worſhipper of other Deities, that it diſclaimed; and its hallowed altars were but little dignified with any incenſe from the hand, which was ready to ſcatter it with the ſame profuſion on thoſe of Apis and of Belus.

tural prophecies extended only to the great revolutions, which were to paſs in the world; and from the nature of them, it could not poſſibly be expected, that they ſhould have included events of a ſubordinate and inferior claſs. They ceaſed previous to Alexander's exiſtence, and the old Teſtament hath not tranſmitted to us any detail of the Jewiſh hiſtory later than that of Nehemiah, which ends at leaſt a century before the birth of Alexander. From the days of Nehemiah, there is a chaſm to the Apocryphal book of Maccabees, which commences with the laſt acts of Alexander's reign. The ſilence, therefore, of the ſcripture is not extraordinary, and weighs nothing in the ſcale of argument.

[k] Euſebius, Chronic. Num. 1685.—G. Syncellus. 260.—Cedrenus. 121.—Zonares. Lib. 4.--197, 198.

[l] This celebrated paſſage of Joſephus hath opened a wide and extenſive field of controverſy. Collins (Scheme of Lit. Prophecy. 452.) ruſhed on to the attack with all the impetuoſity of a Volunteer. Vandale (Diſſert. ſuper Ariſteam. Chap. 10.) and Moyle (Moyle's Works. Vol. 2. --26.) advanced with more regular approaches, and endeavoured to overpower it by weight of metal. The ſceptical Boyle (Dict. Article Macedo.) coldly admitted the poſſibility of its being ſupported, without throwing in a ſingle ſuccour for its relief; but the two Chandlers (Vindication of his defence. Chap. 2. Sect. 1.—And S. Chandler's vindication of Daniel. 76.) with Lloyd (Letter to Sherlock) and Prideaux (Connect. Part 1ſt. Book 7. Vol. 1.--384, 385.) have defended it with the ability of veteran Generals. Biſhop Newton (Diſſert. on the Prophecies. Vol. 2.) hath ſince thrown up a number of freſh Entrenchments.

In all likelihood the whole was a Jewiſh artifice, and a ſtratagem invented by that nation,[m] after the death of Alexander, to furniſh it with pretenſions to the favour and protection of his ſucceſſors. In later ages a ſimilar hiſtory prevailed in the Eaſt, and Ghengizkhan pretending to have ſeen in a dream a Chriſtian biſhop, ſent on the part of heaven to aſſure him of its aſſiſtance, the viſion of the Tartar prince was as advantageous to the Chriſtians of the Mogul empire, as that of Alexander had been to the Jews.[n]

Gaza

[m] I perſuade myſelf I am not capable of attempting to defend a paſſage if I believed it to be entirely untenable. I truſt, however, I may be allowed to ſuggeſt, that admitting many of the circumſtances related by Joſephus to be improbable; and, giving the objections in their wideſt range every advantage, erroneous; it ſtill does not follow that the whole is falſe. The dream and the interview may be ſubſtantially correct, the additional embelliſhments faulty and fictitious. The belief of the "Ονας εκ Διος εστι (Hom. Iliad. Lib. 1.--63.) was very ancient, and with the Jews, when the prophetic ſpirit ceaſed with Malachi, particular dreams were conſidered as a ſecondary kind of inſpiration, and the Almighty was ſuppoſed on extraordinary occaſions to adopt this method of communication. "The ſame Providence," to borrow an expreſſion of the late amiable and learned Dr. Jortin, "which conducted Cyrus and prevented the raſh Macedonian from periſhing till he had overthrown the Perſian empire,"* might have taken this mode of rouſing his ambition, and directing it to the great end which it had in view. Allowing the ſcriptural prophecies to allude to Alexander, which hath never been diſputed, he then becomes confeſſedly an immediate inſtrument in the hands of Providence, and I ſee no violation of conſiſtency in the ſuppoſition of his having been led by a preternatural impreſſion on his mind to their completion.

[n] "Ce fut par le même motif, que dans les ſiecles fort poſterieurs, les Chretiens de l'orient inventerent une hiſtorie à peu pres ſemblable. Ghengizkhan y joue le même role qu'Alexandre; et la viſion du prince Tartare eſt auſſi avantageuſe aux Chretiens, que celle du roi Macedonien l'avoit été aux Juifs." I owe the reader ſome explanation of my reaſons for this violent deviation from the ſenſe of the French ſentence. The Chriſtians are there expreſsly charged with a direct forgery, and the following evidence is referred to, in ſupport of the accuſation. "Apres avoir ainſi ſoumis toute la Tartarie, les Mogols marcherent vers Otrar, qui appartenoit au Sulthan de Khariſme. ——Ghengizkhan qui n'etoit occupe que du projet de cette guerre, fit publier que Dieu

* Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. 1.--36.

Gaza oppoſed the rapid progreſs of the Macedonian arms as much by its advantageous poſition, as the generous defence of its governor and garriſon. Alexander received a contuſion on the ſhoulder by 'the diſcharge of a catapulta,° and Q. Curtius hath deſcribed a ſingular conflict between an Arabian ſoldier and the Macedonian Monarch, in which he was again wounded.[p] This fact hath been diſcreetly ſuppreſſed by the other hiſtorians, and they have by this means avoided the abſurdity, that Q. Curtius hath been guilty of. After the reduction of Gaza, if we are to believe

Dieu lui accordoit ſa protection. Il pretendoit avoir vû en ſonge un Eveque, qui etoit venu lui annoncer de la part de Dieu, ce perſonage, comme il depeignit à ſon reveil, etoit Mardenha, Eveque du pays d'Igour. Ghengizkhan voulut le voir. On ajoute que c'eſt depuis ce temps-la, qu'il a protege toujours les Chretiens." (Hiſt. Gen. des Huns par Deguignes. Tom. 3.--41, 42.) I am afraid ſuch injurious miſrepreſentations could only ariſe from wilful inadvertency.

° "Αυτ☉ δε βαλλεται καταπελτη δια της ασπιδ☉ διαμπαξ, κ☽ τ☽ θωρακ☉ ες τον ωμον." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177..) Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, if we are to believe the hiſtorians, had requeſted Alexander to be careful of his perſon on this day, and Arrian adds "Ταυτα ακ☽σας Αλεξανδρ☉, τεως μεν πρ☉ς ταις μηχαναις εξω βελ☽ς αυτον ειχεν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 26.--175.) Q. Curtius varies the account: "Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile eſt fatum. Quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, ſagittâ ictus eſt: quam per loricam adactam, ſtantem in humero medicus ejus Philippus evellit. (Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--200.) Plutarch barely mentions the wound: "Ετρωθη μεν γαρ Αλεξανδρ☉ ϛις τον ωμον." Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--679.

[p] "Arabs quidam Darii miles, majus fortunâ ſuâ facinus auſus, clypeo gladium tegens, quaſi transfuga genibus regis advolvitur. Ille adſurgere ſupplicem recipique inter ſuos juſſit. At gladio barbarus ſtrenue in dextram tranſlato, cervicem adpetit regis: qui exiguâ corporis declinatione evitato ictu, in vanum manum barbari lapſam amputat. (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--200.) Hegeſias ſtates in ſubſtance the ſame anecdote. "Ανηρ γαρ των πολεμιων εις γονατα συγκαμψεις εδοξε τ☽τ' Αλεξανδρον της ἱκετειας ἑνεκα πραξας· πρ☉εμεν☉ δ' εγ☽ς μικρον εκνευει το ξιφ☉ ενεγκαντ☉ ὑπο τα πτερυγια τ☽ θωρακ☉ ὡστε γενεσθαι κ☽ την πληγην ϐ καριωτατην· αλλα τον μεν αυτον απωλεσε, κατα κεφαλης τυπτων τη μαχαιρα." Dion. Hal. de ſtruct. Orat. 146. 8vo 1728.

believe this writer,[q] Alexander faſtened Betis to his chariot wheels, and with a barbarous indignity, in imitation of Achilles, dragged the dead body of the unfortunate governor round the walls. To magnify the defence of Betis, Q. Curtius falls into a palpable contradiction, and though he aſſures us he ſuſtained the various aſſaults of the enemy with a very moderate[r] garriſon, he makes no ſcruple a few lines afterwards of reckoning the loſs at ten thouſand Perſians or Arabs.[s] Moſt of the inhabitants of Gaza, capable of bearing arms, had gallantly fallen in its defence; the reſt were diſtributed in ſlavery,[t] and Alexander according to Arrian, converted

[q] "Q. Curtius hath heightened this affecting tragedy. "Betim, egregiâ editâ pugnâ, multiſque vulneribus confectum deſeruerant ſui: nec tamen ſegnius prælium capeſſebat, lubricis armis ſuo pariter atque hoſtium ſanguine. Sed quumque undique adducto, inſolenti gaudio juvenis elatus alias virtutes etiam in hoſte miratur, non ut voluiſti, inquit, morieris Betis: ſed quidquid tormentorum in captivum invenire poteſt, paſſurum eſſe te cogita. Ille non interrito modo, ſed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem, nullam ad minas ejus reddit vocem. Tum Alexander, videtiſne obſtinatum ad tacendum? inquit. Num genu poſuit? num ſupplicem vocem miſit? vincam tamen ſilentium, et ſi nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellato. Ira deinde vertit in rabiem: jam tum peregrinos ritus novâ ſubeunte fortunâ. Per talos enim ſpirantis lora trajecta ſunt; religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi: gloriante rege, Achillem, a quo genus ipſe deduceret, imitatum ſe eſſe pœnâ in hoſtem capiendâ. (Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1.--202--204.) If the whole is not a fiction, it is to be hoped, there are at leaſt ſome poetical embelliſhments.

[r] "Modicoque præſidio muros ingentis operis tuebatur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1. --197. 198.

[s] "Cecidere Perſarum Arabumque circa decem millia." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 6. Tom. 1. --205.

[t] "Les habitans de Gaza furent reduits en eſclavage." Arrian hath tranſmitted to us their reſolution and deſpair. "Οι δε Γαζαιοι, κ᾽ της πολεως σφισιν ηδη εχομενης, ξυνεσηκοτες ὁμως εμαχοντο, κ᾽ απεθανον παντες αυτω μαχομενοι, ὡς εκαστοι εταχθησαν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.) I have receded from the Baron de St. Croix and nearly adopted Arrian.

verted his new conqueſt into a place of arms, which he peopled by a colony drawn from the neighbouring country. [v] Strabo on the contrary pretends that this unfortunate city was deſtroyed, [w] and remained a deſert. Gaza made however, a very conſiderable figure in the different wars of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and the judicious geographer might probably have confounded its ſtate under the two firſt ages of the Seleucides, with its melancholy fate, after its total deſtruction by Alexander Zebina, 96 years before Chriſt. [x] It then became a prey to the flames, as the prophet Amos [y] had denounced, and its inhabitants were carried into captivity from their attachment to the Ptolemies. The ſimilitude of the name of the two princes, to whom it owed its misfortunes, eaſily led Strabo into the miſtake.

Egypt ſubmitted without a ſtruggle, and Alexander determined to

[v] "Την πολιν δε ξυνοικισας εκ των περιοικων, εχρητο ὁσα φρουριω ες τον πολεμον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 27.--177.

[w] "Ειθ'ὁ των Γαζαιων λιμην πλησιον· ὑπερκειται δε ἡ πολις εν ἑπτα σταδιοις, ενδοξος ποτε γενομενη, κατεσπασμενη δ'υπο Αλεξανδρου και μενουσα ερημος." Strabo. Lib. 16.--1101, 1102.

[x] Joſephus hath compreſſed into a ſhort compaſs a hiſtory of this ſiege. Ant. Jud. Lib. 13. C. 13. Tom. 1.--670.

[y] "I will ſend a fire on the wall of Gaza, which ſhall devour the palaces thereof." (Amos. Chap. 1. Verſe 7.) A new Gaza appears, however, to have riſen, like a Phœnix, out of its aſhes, which is mentioned on ſeveral of the medals of Hadrian's days. Sozomen ſpeaks of it, (Lib. 5. C. 5.) and a liſt of its Biſhops may be ſtill found in the dormant repoſitory of Eccleſiaſtical Knowledge, the hiſtory of Councils and their Acts. A livelier reader may conſult Reland. Palæſt. Lib. 3.--787.

to ſignalize his new empire by the foundation of a city, which might one day be the ſtaple of the commerce of the two ſeas, and unite by intereſt the inhabitants of the eaſtern and weſtern world. The Conqueror conſulted his true glory in the enterpriſe. Humanity recommended the deſign, and a work of this kind is entitled to a more diſtinguiſhed column in the page of hiſtory, than thoſe monſtrous edifices which are at once the prodigies of human labour, and the laſting monuments of the tyranny of the princes, that erected them amidſt the miſery and unavailing agonies of their ſubjects.——The Macedonian Monarch in his foundation of Alexandria opened a new ſource of riches, and Egypt ſoon enjoyed the happineſs of ſeeing its land cultivated by a multitude of induſtrious inhabitants, and the temples of its Deities filled with crowds of people enriched by its commerce.

Arrian[z] and Plutarch[a] tell us, that the plan of Alexandria was traced out under Alexander's inſpection, and that the workmen were ordered to begin the buildings previous to his departure for

[z] "Και εδοξεν αυτω ὁ χωρος καλλιςος κτισαι εν αυτω πολιν, καὶ γενεσθαι αν ευδαιμονα την πολιν· Ποθος ων λαμβανει αυτον τε εργε, καὶ αυτος τα σημεια τη πολει εθηκεν, ἱνα τε αγοραν εν αυτη δειμασθαι: εδει, καὶ ἱερα ὁσα, καὶ Θεων ὡν τινων, των μεν Ἑλληνικων, Ισιδης δ' Αιγυπτιας, καὶ το τειχος η περιβεβλησθαι.——
——Επι τετοις δε ποθος λαμβανει αυτον ελθειν παρ Αμμονα ες Λιβυην· Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 1.--3.--181, 183.

[a] "Εργε κελευσας, εσχεσθαι τες επιμελητας, αυτος ὁρμησειν εις Αμμωνος ὁδον." Plutarch. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--680.

for Ammon;[b] Diodorus Siculus[c] and Juſtin[d] date its foundation after that expedition, but Q. Curtius[e] refers both the idea and the execution to his return. Theſe different hiſtorians, Q. Curtius excepted, may be correct in their information, and it is not improbable that Alexander directing his march along the ſea-ſhore, might firſt have traced the outlines of this flouriſhing city,[f] and afterwards on his return augmented the number of the workmen, and puſhed on by his encouragement the numerous and ſtately edifices, that were then riſing up. This is notwithſtanding no excuſe for Diodorus Siculus, who fixes the

[b] "L'epoque de la foundation d'Alexandrie eſt rapportée par Plutarque et Arrien avant celle du depart d'Alexandre pour Ammon." I have not ſcrupulouſly adhered to the French text, but by this means the diſcordant hiſtorians are more in uniſon, and to juſtify me I have the evidence of Plutarch and Arrian that I have juſt cited. Q. Curtius, ſtill remains at an irreconcilable diſtance.

[c] "Επανηλθεν εις Αιγυπτον· Κρινας δ'εν ταυτη τωλιν μεγαλην κτισαι, τροσεταξε τοις επι την επιμελειαν, ταυτην καταλειπομενοις, αναμεσον της τε λιμνης κ᾽ της θαλεσσης οικισαι την πολιν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.

[d] "Reverſus ab Hammone Alexandriam condidit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. Chap. 11.--286.

[e] "Alexander ab Hammone rediens, ut a mari ad Mareotim paludem, haud procul inſulâ Pharo ſitam, venit; contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipſâ inſulâ ſtatuerat urbem novam condere. Inde, ut adparuit, magnæ ſedis inſulam haud capacem; elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc eſt Alexandria." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 8. Tom. 1.--220, 221.

[f] Plutarch hath preſerved a curious anecdote reſpecting Alexander's tracing out the plan of this city. "Και γη μεν η παρην λευκη· των δε αλφιτων λαμβανοντες εν πεδιω μελαγγειω κυκλοτερη κολπον ηγεν, ὑ την εντος τεριφερειαν ευθειαι βασεις, ὡς τερ απο κρασπεδων εις σχημα χλαμυδος ὑπελαμβανων, εξ ισυ συναγυσαι το μεγεθος· ἡσθεντος δε τη διαθεσει τε βασιλεως, αιφνιδιον ορνιθες απο τυ τοταμυ, κ᾽ της λιμνης, τληθει τε απειροι, κ᾽ κατα γενος τανταδαποι, κ᾽ μεγαλοι, επι τον τοπον καταιροντες, νεφεσιν εοικοτες, ὑδε μικρον ὑπελιποντο των αλφιτων· ὡς τε κ᾽ τον Αλεξανδρον διαταραχθηναι τρος τον οιωνον· η μην γαρ των μαντειων θαρρην τανταπασιν ηνυτων τολυαρκεσατην γαρ οικιζεσθαι τολιν ὑπ᾽ αυτη, κ᾽ τανταδαπων ανθρωπων εσομενην τροφον." (Plutarch, De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--680.) A leſs accommodating fortune-teller might have put a different conſtruction on the accident.

foundation of Alexandria under the Archon Ariſtophanes, in the ſecond year of the 112th Olympiad,[g] which was in fact the ſixth year of Alexander's reign; though it only became the fifth according to this hiſtorian, Alexander having begun his reign, by his computation under the magiſtracy of Evænetus, as was before obſerved. The miſtake of Diodorus Siculus moſt probably occaſioned thoſe of Euſebius[h] and St. Cyrill,[i] who have pretended to eſtabliſh the foundation of Alexandria in the ſeventh year of Alexander's reign. But the true period of its foundation was the fifth year of the Macedonian Monarch's reign, which was the firſt year of the 112th Olympiad when Nicetas was Archon, as appears by the ſubſequent military operations of this Prince.—The certainty of the date is alſo confirmed by the Canon of Theon, which allows only four years to the reign of Darius Codomanus, and begins to reckon that of his victorious rival in the 417th year of the era of Nabonaſſar, the conqueſt of Egypt and the foundation of Alexandria being included in the four firſt years after Alexander's acceſſion to the throne of Macedon.[k]

The

[g] Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200. T. Livy differs very conſiderably, (Lib. 8. C. 24. Tom. 2.--760.) and alſo Julius Solinus (C. 32.--45.) from Diodorus Siculus, but Dodwell (Differt. de Cycl. 10. 73.) hath fully proved the former to have deceived himſelf, and Salmaſius (Plin. Exer. 338.) allows the latter to have been miſtaken.

[h] "Αλεξανδρεια ἡ κατ' Αιγυπτον ἑβδομῳ ετει Αλεξανδρῳ εκτισθη." Euſebii Chronic. Port. 177.

[i] "Ἑκατοστη δωδεκατη ολυμπιαδι Αλεξανδρειαν την προς Αιγυπτον κτισθηναι φασιν, ετει ἑβδομῳ της Αλεξανδρῳ βασιλειας." (St. Cyrill. contra Julian. Lib. 1. Julian. Opera. Tom. 2.--13.) To give the Patriarch fair play, he only ſtates it on tradition.

[k] This ſubject hath been extremely well explained by Monſ. de Freret. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 27.--149, 150.

The new city had at its foundation a form, nearly ſimilar to that of the Macedonian[l] mantle, but as it increaſed, it naturally loſt its ſhape and figure. Monsr d'Anville's plan of Alexandria, which he ſketched out with ſuch pains and accuracy, hath little reſemblance with this part of the Macedonian dreſs as engraven by Cuper,[m] and he endeavours in vain to apply it to the ground between the Mareotic lake and the ſhore of the Egyptian ſea. Its circuit, according to Pliny,[n] was about fifteen miles, which may amount to one hundred and twenty ſtadia, inſtead of eighty agreeable to the calculation of Q. Curtius.[o] But the ſentiments of theſe two authors will not materially differ, if we ſuppoſe with Monsr d'Anville[p] Pliny's ſtadium to have been a third leſs than that of Q. Curtius. This meaſure will be found likewiſe to be nearly adequate to the thirty ſtadia by ſeven or eight, which Strabo[q]

l "Τον δε τυπον αποτελων χλαμυδι παραπλησιον" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) Or as Pliny more diffuſely expreſſes it, "Ad effigiem Macedonicæ Chlamydis orbe gyrato laciniosam, dextrâ lævâque anguloſo procurſu." (Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5, 10. Tom. 1.--562.) Strabo hath deſcribed the figure with mathematical preciſion: "Το χλαμυδοειδες σχημα εγλεγαπται ὑτως, ὡς τε τα μηκ@. τω μηκει ὁμολογειν, κ᾽ ὁσον ειναι το μεγιϛον, κ᾽ το πλατ@. τω πλατει" Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--179.

m See the Homeri Apotheſis. 158.

n "Metatus eſt eam Dinochares Artichectus, pluribus modis memorabili ingenio. xv. M. paſſuum laxitate inſeſſa." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--561. 562.

o "Complexus quidquid eſt loci inter paludem et mare, octaginta ſtadiorum muris ambitum deſtinat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 8. Tom. 1.--221.

p Memoire ſur l'Egypt Anc. et Mod. 56. 57.

q "Εϛι δε χλαμυδοειδες το σχημα τη εδαφης της πολεως· ὁ τα μεν επι μηκους πλευρα εϛι τα αμφικλυϛτα, ὁσον τριακοντα ϛαδιων εχοντα διαμετρον· τα δε επι πλατ@. οἱ ισθμοι ἑπτα η οκτω ϛαδιων ἑκατερ@·" Strabo. Lib. 17. --1143.

hath given to this city. Joſephus[r] reckons its length to have been thirty ſtadia and its breadth ten,[s] but Diodorus Siculus[t] with leſs probability relates that it reached four hundred ſtadia in length, and was a Plethrum broad.

When Diodorus Siculus paſſed through Egypt, the number of Freemen in Alexandria were ſaid by the Police officers to amount to three hundred thouſand,[w] and if we adopt the calculation of Cteſicles,[x] reſpecting the proportion between the Freemen and the ſlaves

[r] "Μηκ@. μεν γε αυτης τριακοντα ςαδιων, ευρ@. δε ȣκ ελατ͂ον δεκα." Joſeph. de Bello Judaico. Lib. 2. C. 16. Sect. 4. Tom. 2.--190.

[s] The Baron de St. Croix obſerves "Cette meſure eſt conforme à la longueur de trente ſtades ſur dix de largeur, donneé par Strabon et Joſeph a cette ville." I am not altogether ſatisfied that he perfectly underſtood the Greek geographer, but Father Harduin in his notes on Pliny (Hiſt. Vit. Tom. 1.--562.) appears to have looked through the ſame intellectual teleſcope, and in a generous court of criticiſm "De minimis non curat lex." The "ſur dix" applied to both authors is inexcuſable, and I have made each writer reſponſible for his own calculation.

[t] "Απο γαρ πυλης επι πυλην διηκȣσα, τεσσαρακοντα μεν ςαδιων εχει το μηκ@, πλεθρȣ δε το πλατ@." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) The Plethrum was originally reckoned to contain a hundred ſquare feet, but "the practice of ſome Greeks," as the great hiſtorian of the decline of the Roman empire hath judiciouſly remarked, (16th Chap. Vol 1.) and the authority of Monſ. de Valois would lead us to believe the "Πλεθρον," was uſed to expreſs the Roman "jugerum," which conſiſted of twenty-eight thouſand eight hundred ſquare Roman feet.

[w] "Καθ'ὁν γαρ δη καιρον ἡμεις παρεβαλομεν εις Αιγυπτον, εφασαν οἱ τας αναγραφας εχοντες των κατοικȣντων, ειναι τȣς εν αυτη διατριβοντας ελευθερȣς, πλειȣς των τριακοντα μυριαδων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--201.

[x] "Κλησικλης δε εν τριτῃ χρονικων φησιν ἐπι τȣ δεκατȣ Ολυμπιαδι Αθηνησιν εξελασμον γενεσθαι ὑπο Δημητριȣ τȣ Φαληρεως των κατοικȣντων την Αττικην· ȣ̓ ἀνᾳρεθηναι Αθηναιȣς μεν δυσμυριȣς προς τοις χιλιοις, μετοικȣς δε μυριȣς, οικετων δε μυριαδας τεσσαρακοντα." (Athenæus. Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--272.) This immenſe population

ſlaves at Athens, we cannot reckon the whole maſs of inhabitants at leſs than fifteen hundred thouſand, which is an aſtoniſhing degree of population conſidering the obſtacles that checked it. Notwithſtanding the precaution which the Royal Founder had taken in its conſtruction, that the ſtreets might be open to and refreſhed by the Eteſian winds,[y] the new capital of Egypt was very unhealthy, and the inhabitants had only dead and ſtagnant water for their common uſe. Their diet was alſo very ordinary, and conſiſted of bad vegetables of the worſt qualities, paſte, dry cheeſe, inferior kinds of fiſh, ſnails, ſnakes, the fleſh of aſſes and of camels, and in general all ſorts of ſalt proviſions.[z] From ſuch a regimen, as Galen hath obſerved, the leproſy and other inveterate

population did not ſtill equal the Roman Capitation about this period. (See Juſt. Lipſ. Elect. Lib. 1.---De Magnitudine Romæ. Lib. 1. 7.) In the quotation from Athenæus, I have adopted the ingenious emendation of the "Επτα κ᾽ δεκατη," with which the Baron de St. Croix hath furniſhed me, on the very ſtrong evidence of Demetrius having been the Athenian Archon in the fourth year of the 117th Olympiad, which he produces from Corſini. Faſt. Attic. Tom. 4.--63, 64.

y "Ευϛοχια δε της ϛυμοτομιας ϖοιησας διαπνειϲθαι την ϖολιν τοις ετησιοις ανεμοις· κ᾽ τϐτων ϖνεοντων μεν δια τϐ μεγιϛϐ ϖελαγϐς, καταψυχοντων δε τον κατα την ϖολιν αερα, ϖολλην τοις κατοικϐϲιν ευκρασιαν κ᾽ ὑγιειαν κατεϲκευασε·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--200.) "Και ὁι ετησιαι ϖνεϐϲιν εκ των βορειων, κ᾽ τϐ τοϲϐτϐ ϖελαγϐς· ὡϛε καλλιϛα τϐ θερϐς Αλεξανδρεις διαϝϐϲιν." (Strabo. Lib. 17. --1143.) A warm and luxuriant deſcription of Alexandria may be found in Achilles Tatius. (Lib. 5. C. 1. 397——400. 8vo Lipſ. 1776.) Monſ. Savary (Letters on Ægypt, Vol. 1.--21——42.) hath amplified it, and introduced the revolutions that it hath experienced, but with both ingenuity and taſte.

z Yet to this wretched bill of Fare, Diodorus Siculus gives a flat contradiction. "Και ϖροσοδων πληθει κ᾽ των ϖρος τροφην ανηκοντων ϖολυ διαφερει των αλλων. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--201.

inveterate ſcorbutic complaints were very frequent. Cocchi, from whom the remark is borrowed, deſcribes the ſoil of Alexandria as very hot and impregnated with ſalts, and he adds that from the expence of the inceſſant watering which the vegetables wanted, they were not within the reach of general uſe, and the malady from this circumſtance was both very common and very virulent.

The place on which Alexandria ſtood, had been uſed to feed cattle[a] in, and ſerved occaſionally for the retreat of a few miſerable ſhepherds or fiſhermen, who reſided in the little village of Racotis. Alexander looked undoubtedly with a penetrating eye into futurity, and made choice of the ſituation without any attention to the ſalubrity of the air, from the commercial advantages that it offered, and which ſoon rendered it one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the ancient world.[b]

The

[a] "Οι μεν ων προτεροι των Αιγυπτιων βασιλεις αγαπωντες δις ειχον, κ᾽ ε πανυ επεισακτων δεομενοι, διαβεβλημενοι προς ἁπαντας τους πλεοντας, κ᾽ μαλιστα τους Ἑλληνας (πορθηται γαρ ησαν κ᾽ επιθυμηται της αλλοτριας κατα σπανιν γης) επεσησαν φυλακην τω τοπω τουτω, κελευσαντες απειργειν τους προσιοντας· κατοικιαν δ᾽ αυτοις εδοσαν την προσαγορευομενην Ρακωτιν, ἡ νυν μεν της Αλεξανδρεων πολεως εστι μερος το ὑπερκειμενον των νεωριων· τοτε δε κωμη ὑπηρχη· τα δε κυκλω της κωμης βυκολοις παρεδοσαν, δυναμενοις κ᾽ αυτοις κωλυειν τους εξωθεν επιοντας." (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1142.) The "Βυκολοις παρεδοσαν" leads me to believe with Diodorus Siculus that Alexandria was not confined to the fleſh of camels and of aſſes.

[b] A modern traveller who viſited the Turkiſh empire on a profeſſional plan, hath paſſed a high encomium on the Macedonian Monarch's diſcernment in his choice of the ſituation of Alexandria. "L'Egypte ſituée pour aſſocier à ſon commerce, l'Europe, l'Afrique et les Indes, avait beſoin d'un port. Il devait être vaſte, et d'un abord facile: les bouches du Nil n'offraient aucun de ſes avantages: le ſeul port qui fût ſur cette côte, placé à douze lieues du fleuve, dans un déſert'

The difficulties, which the Macedonian ſoldiers had to encounter in their march from the frontiers of Egypt to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, have been greatly exaggerated by all the hiſtorians, and particularly Q. Curtius, whoſe hyperbolical expreſſions are alone ſufficient to create a doubt of their veracity.

Diodorus Siculus refers the origin of the temple of Ammon to the time of Danaus;[c] and we are informed by Apollodorus[d] that Cepheus expoſed his daughter Andromeda by the counſels of this oracle. But even the fables of Herodotus[e] on the foundation of the

déſert, ne pouvait être apperçu que par un génie hardi. Il falloit y bâtir une ville; ce fut lui qui en deſſina le plan. A quel degré de ſplendeur n'a-t-il pas porté Alexandrie dans ſa naiſſance? il la joignit au Nil par un canal navigable, et utile à la culture; elle devint la ville de toutes les nations, la Métropole du commerce; il en honore les cendres que les ſiecles de barbarie ont amoncelés, et qui n'attendent qu'une main bien faiſante qui les délaie, pour cimenter la réconſtruction du plus vaſte edifice que l'eſprit humain ait jamais conçu.

Ses ruines offrent à chaque pas le temoignage de ſon ancienne ſplendeur; et le manteau Macédonien que ſon enceinte repréſente, en repellant le fondateur, ſemble en avoir impoſé aux Barbares dans les différentes ſaccagements de cette ville. Les mêmes murailles qui garantiſſaient ſon induſtrie et ſes richeſſes, défendent encore aujourd'hui ſes ruines, et préſentent un chef-d'œuvre de maconnerie." Mem. du Baron de Tott. Tom. 2.--179. 180. 12mo Paris, 1785.

c "Το μεν ϑν τεμενος φασιν ἱδρυσασϑαι Δαναον τον Αιγυπτιον" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--198.

d "Ποσειδων————πλημμυραν τε επι την χωραν επεμψε κ̀ κητος· Αμμωνος δε χρησαντος την απαλλαγην της συμφορας, εαν ἡ Κασσιεπειας ϑυγατηρ Ανδρομεδα προτεϑη τω κητει βορᾳ· τϑτο αναγκασϑεις ὁ Κηφευς ὑπο των Αιϑιοπων επραξε, κ̀ προσεδησε την ϑυγατερα πετρᾳ" Apollod. Lib. 2. C. 4.--98. Ed. Heyne. 12mo Gott. 1782.

e "Ταδε δε Δωδωναιων φασι ἁι προμαντιες, δυο πελειαδας μελαιναs εκ Θηβεων των Αιγυπτειων αναπταμενας, την μεν αυτεων ες Λιβυην, την δε παρα σφεας απικεσθαι, ἱζομενην δε μιν επι φηγον, αυδαξασθαι φωνη ανθρωπηιη, ὡς χρεων ειη μαντηιον αυτοϑε Διος γενεσθαι· κ̀ αυτους ὑπολαβειν ϑειον ειναι το επαγγελλομενον

the edifice, are favourable to its antiquity and carry back its exiſtence to a very remote period. The Oracle of Jupiter Ammon was highly celebrated in the firſt ages of Greece. Crœſus [f] conſulted it on the probable ſucceſſes of the war, which he intended to undertake againſt the Perſians, and the Lacedæmonians [g] and Eleans afterwards frequently reſorted to it. Temples roſe in gratitude for the ſuppoſed munificence of the local Deity, and Pindar compoſed hymns in honour of the ſhrine, which were tranſmitted to the Ammonites in Lybia. One of theſe ſacred odes, which had been engraven on a triangular column near an altar erected to this Divinity by Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, was legible in the days of Pauſanias, and is mentioned by him. [h]

The Oracles of Ammon, of Dodona and of Delphos, acquired a great influence in Greece, and poſſeſſed an unlimited confidence on the moſt important occaſions. Whenever there were any apprehenſions

μενον αυτοισι, ἡ σφεας εκ τουτου ποιησαι· την δε ες τους Λιβυας οιχομενην πελειαδα, λεγουσι Αμμωνος χρηστηριον κελευσαι τους Λιβυας ποιεειν· εστι δε ἡ τουτο Διος.'' Herodotus. Lib. 2.--130.

f ''Λιβυης δε παρα Αμμωνα απεστειλε αλλους χρησομενους——————ει επιχειρεοι επι Περσας στρατευεσθαι.'' Herod. Lib. 1.--21.

g ''Εντευθεν, ἱερον εστιν Αμμωνος· φαινονται δε απαρχης Λακεδαιμονιοι μαλιστα Ἑλληνων χρωμενοι τω εν Λιβυη μαντειω.'' (Pauſanias. Lib. 3. C. 18.--253.) The courteous Deity ſeems to have felt the obligation, and to have patroniſed the Lacedæmonians in return. ''Φησιν αν βουλεσθαι αυτω την Λακεδαιμονιων ευφημιαν ειναι μαλλον, ἡ τα συμπαντα των Ελληνων ἱερα.'' Plato Alcibiad. 2.--135.

h ''Ου πορρω δε εστι ναος Αμμωνος· ἡ το αγαλμα ανεθηκε μεν Πινδαρος, Καλαμιδος δε εστι εργον· απετιμψε δε ὁ Πινδαρος ἡ Λιβυης επ' Αμμωνιους τω Αμμωνι ὑμνους· ουτος ἡ ες εμε ην ὁ ὑμνος εν τριγωνω στηλη παρα τον βωμον, ον Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγου τω Αμμωνι ανεθηκε.'' Pauſanias. Lib. 9. C. 16.--741.

prehenſions of a war, or a new colony was to be eſtabliſhed, one of the three ſhrines was conſulted, and its anſwer governed their future reſolutions.[i] The credit of Jupiter Ammon, who delivered his reſponſes under the figure of a ram,[k] continued to hold its empire over the mind, and declined only on the introduction of the Roman government, under which more religious veneration was beſtowed on the Sibylline verſes and Etruſcan divinations.[l] Yet the temple of this Deity ſubſiſted with ſome reputation, as low as the fifth age, as may be gathered from Syneſius[m] the biſhop of Ptolemais a writer of that time.

From the credit of the Oracle and its antiquity, there can be little doubt that the country, where its reſponſes were delivered, was frequented by crowds of viſitants. Strabo,[n] to avoid a contradiction,

S

i "Quam vero Græcia coloniam miſit in Æoliam, Ioniam, Aſiam, Siciliam, Italiam, ſine Pythio aut Dodonæo, aut Hammonis Oraculo? aut quod bellum ſuſceptum ab eâ ſine conſilio Deorum eſt." M. T. Cicero de Divinatione. Lib. 1. Tom. 3, 4. 4to 1740.

k "Λιβυες προβατον, ὁ καλεσιν Αμμωνα, Θεον εχουσι·" (Athanaſius adverſ. Gentes. 20. Ed. Comelin.) and the Scholiaſt on Pindar hath preſerved a verſe of Phæſtus.

"Ζευ Λιβυης Αμμων κερατεφορε κεκλυθι μαντι·"

Pyth. 4.

l "Πολλα δε ειρηκοτες περι τε Αμμωνος, τοσουτον ειπειν βουλομεθα· Ὁτι τοις αρχαιοις μαλλον ην εν τιμη, ἡ μαντικη καθολε, ἡ τα χρηςηρια· νυνι δε ολιγωρια κατεχει πολλη, των Ρωμαιων αρχουμενων τοις Σιβυλλης χρησμοις, ἡ τοις Τυρρηνικοις θεωροποιοις, δια τε σπλαγχνων, ἡ ορνιθειας, ἡ διοσημειων· Διοπερ ἡ τε εν Αμμωνι σχεδον τι εκλελειπται χρηςηριον, προτερον δε εἰλιμητο." Strabo. Lib. 17.--1168.

m De Inſomniis. 116.

n "Ταχα δη ἡ το τε Αμμωνος ἱερον προτερον επι της θαλατης ον· εκρυσεως γενομενης νυν εν τη μεσογαια κεισθαι· εικαζειν τε, ἡ το μαντειον ευλογως επι τοσουτον γενεσθαι επιφανες τε, ἡ γνωριμον επι θαλατην ον· τον τε επιπο-

λυ

tradiction, and get rid of the inconſiſtency which appeared between its ancient celebrity and its difficult acceſs, adopts the opinion of Eratoſthenes, who aſſures us, on ſome feeble conjectures, that the temple once ſtood on the ſhore, from which the ſea had gradually retired. But this able geographer would not have conſidered the approach to the temple as impracticable, if he had attended to Herodotus,[o] and the route that he hath traced acroſs Africa, which was in all probability travelled by the Greeks during the reign of Pſammaticus, when they had the liberty of carrying on their commerce and ſettling in Ægypt.

There was a tradition, that one part of the army of Cambyſes had periſhed[p] in this country, but from this route it may be concluded

λυ ὑτως εκ τοπισμον απο της θαλαττης, ϑκ ευλογον ποιειν την νυν ϑσαν επιφαθειαν ϰ̀ δοξαν." Strabo. Lib. 1.--86, 87.

[o] Herodotus. Lib. 4.--361, 362. Mons[r] Bougainville hath illuſtrated with much ingenuity this route, and hath left nothing to be added on the ſubject. Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions et Belles Lettres. Tom. 28.--302.

[p] Herodotus gives the melancholy hiſtory of the loſs of this detachment between Oaſes and Ammon. "Λεγεται δε ταδε ὑπ' Λμμωνιων· επειδη εκ της Οασιος ταυτης ιεναι δια της ψαμμου επι σφεας, γενεσθαι τε αυτους μεταξυ κϰ μαλιϛα αυτεων τε και της Οασιως αριϛαν αιρεομενοισι αυτεοισι επιπνευσαι νοτον μεγαν τε και εξαισιον, φορεοντα δε θινας της ψαμμυ, καταχωσαι σφεας ϰ̀ τροπω τοιυτω αφανεσθαι·" (Herodotus. Lib. 3.--208.) and I cannot allow the Baron de St. Croix's evidence to be deciſive, though he peremptorily ſtyles the account a falſity. Seneca appears to have believed the accident, "Aliquando Cambyſes ad Ammoniam miſit exercitum: quem arena Auſtro mota, et more nivis incidens, texit, deinde obruit," (Queſt. Nat. 2. 30. Seneca. Opera. Tom. 2. 8vo 1672.) and the ſublime and terrible deſcription that a modern traveller hath given of theſe moving mountains, which he witneſſed on his return from Abyſſinia, leaves little doubt of the frequency of ſimilar diſaſters. Mons[r] Savary is of opinion that the Perſians were purpoſely led aſtray and left by their Ægyptian guides to periſh in the deſerts,

cluded to be a falſity. Alexander took the road to Parætonium, which though leſs frequented, was not leſs paſſable, and the ambaſſadors from Cyrene met him there.[q] The Prince according to Ariſtobulus returned with his army by the ſame route, but if the troops had been in ſuch danger of periſhing in their march to

deſerts, and he ſupports Herodotus with ſome ſtrong probabilities.——Thompſon hath beautifully deſcribed the accumulated horrors of theſe horrid regions.

"Commiſſion'd Demons oft', Angels of wrath,
Let looſe the raging elements. Breath'd hot
From all the boundleſs furnace of the ſky,
And the wide-glittering waſte of burning ſand,
A ſuffocating wind the pilgrim ſmites
With inſtant death. Patient of thirſt and toil,
Son of the deſert! ev'n the camel feels
Shot thro' his wither'd heart, the fiery blaſt.
Or from the black-red ether, burſting broad,
Sallies the ſudden whirlwind. Straight the ſands,
Commov'd around, in gath'ring eddies play;
Nearer and nearer ſtill they dark'ning come;
Till, with the gen'ral all-involving ſtorm
Swept up, the whole continuous wilds ariſe;
And by their noon-day fount dejected thrown,
Or ſunk at night in ſad diſaſtrous ſleep,
Beneath deſcending hills, the caravan
Is buried deep. In Cairo's crowded ſtreets
Th' impatient merchant, wondering, waits in vain,
And Mecca ſaddens at the long delay."

Thompſon's Seaſons. Summer. 960---979.

[q] "Κατα μεσην δε την ὁδον απηντησαν αυτω πρεσβεις παρα Κυρηναιων, στεφανον κομιζοντες, ϗ μεγαλοπρεπη δωρα." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17.--197.) Q. Curtius briefly tells us, "Deſcendit ad Mareotim paludem. Eo legati Cyrenenſium dona adtulere; pacem et ut adiret urbes ſuas petentes." Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209.

Ammon, it is not to be imagined, that a general of Alexander's abilities would have expoſed them a ſecond time, without any neceſſity, to the ſame perils of being buried in the ſands, or expiring by a more lingering death, from hunger[r] and thirſt.

Ammon, in the boſom of Lybia, notwithſtanding its diſtance from the borders of the ſea, was reſorted to by moſt of the European nations, and ſupplied them with ſeveral objects for exportation.[s] It had been peopled by a colony of Æthiopians and Ægyptians, as the language ſpoken by the Ammonites in the time of Herodotus, which was a mixture of the language of both theſe people, ſufficiently demonſtrates.[t] Is it likely, that men whoſe intention in their migrations was as much to procure the conveniences of life, as to enjoy its neceſſaries, ſhould have voluntarily eſtabliſhed

[r] "Ενταυθα Αλεξανδρ@———ανεζευξεν επ' Αιγυπτου· ὡς μεν Αριϛοβυλ@ λεγει, την αυτη οπισω ὁδον·" but Arrian adds, "Ως δε Πτολεμαι@ ὁ Λαγυ, αλλην ευθειαν, ὡς επι Μεμφιν," (De Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--187.) which appears moſt likely, from the difficulties and dangers experienced in their route to Ammon.

[s] This commerce is ſuppoſed to have conſiſted of ſalt, gum and dates. Arrian mentions the firſt, and from this account, there muſt have been a conſiderable demand for it. "Γινονται δε κ᾽ ἁλες αυτοματοι εν τω χωριω τυτω ορυκτοι· κ᾽ τυτων εϛιν ὁϛ ες Αιγυπτον φερυϛι των ἱερων τινες τυ Αμμων@. επειδη γαρ επ' Αιγυπτυ ϛελλονται, ες κοιτιδας ωλεκτας εκ φοινικ@ εσβαλοντες, δωρον τω βασιλει αποφερυϛιν, η ει τω αλλω'———κ᾽ τυτο επι ταις θυσιαις χρωνται, ὡς καθαρωτερω των απο θαλασσης ἁλων Αιγυπτιοι τε κ᾽ ὁσοι αλλοι τυ Θευ εκ αμελως εχυϛιν." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.--187.) The Baron de St. Croix remarks likewiſe from Jablonſki, (Panth. Ægypt. Tom. 3.--82.) that the Ægyptians owing to ſome religious ſcruples had a horror of ſea-ſalt, which muſt have increaſed the conſumption of the rock-ſalt of Ammon.

[t] "Απο δε Αιγυπτιων Αμμωνιοι, εοντες Αιγυπτιων τε κ᾽ Αιθιοπων αποικοι, κ᾽ φονην μεταξυ αμφοτερων νομιζοντες." Herodotus. Lib. 1.--123, 124.

eſtabliſhed themſelves in a ſituation, which could only have been fit for the lion and the tiger, if the difficulties of getting to it had been as inſurmountable as they have been repreſented? Is it alſo probable that a colony ſhould have planted itſelf by choice in a country ſo totally deprived of water, as the hiſtorians of Alexander have deſcribed it. [w]

We are told, as a fact univerſally acknowledged, by Syneſius, [x] a native of Cyrene, whoſe authority hath naturally a claim to ſome influence, that the country of Ammon was remarkable for its fertility, and the abundance of proviſions, that it afforded to the inhabitants and their cattle, which cannot poſſibly agree with the pretended barrenneſs of the ſoil. Diodorus Siculus admits it likewiſe to have been fruitful, [y] and Strabo compares a tract of country well watered

w The Baron de St. Croix adds "Arrien refute cette opinion abſurd." I have omitted this ſentence, and varied the preceding one, becauſe I draw a very different concluſion from Arrian's expreſſions. "Εσι δε ερημη τε ἡ οδος, καὶ ψαμμῳ ἡ πολλη αυτης, καὶ ανυδρῳ.——ὁ δε χωρος ἱναπερ τῳ Αμμωνῳ το ἱερον εσι, τα μεν κυκλῳ παντα ερημα, καὶ ψαμμῳ το πᾶν εχει, καὶ ανυδρῳ." Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 3, 4.--185, 186.

x "Τον Αμμωνα καὶ Αμμωνῳ γην ε μαλλον ειναι μηλοτροφορον, η κηροτροφον αγαθην." Syneſii Epiſt. 4.--43.

y I am apprehenſive a more extenſive ſignification hath been forced on Diodorus Siculus, than the paſſage of this author warrants, who ſpeaks only of the fertility in the immediate vicinage of the temple, and confines it within the narrow bounds of fifty ſtadia. "Ἡ δε περι το ἱερον τουτο χωρα περιεχεται ὑπο ερημου καὶ ανυδρου της αμμου, πασης φιλανθρωπιας εσερημενη· αὐτη δ' επι μηκῳ καὶ πλατῳ επι σταδιους πεντηκοντα παρηκουσα, πολλοις μεν καὶ καλοις ὑδασι ναματιαιοις διαρρειται, δενδρων δε παντοδαπων καὶ μαλιστα καρπιμων πληθυει· καὶ τον μεν αερα τη κρασει παραπλησιον εχει ταις εαριναις ὡραις, τοποις δε καυματωδεσι περιεχομενη, μονη παρηλλαγμενην παρεχεται τοις ενδιατριβουσι την ευκρασιαν."

tered and beautified with palms, at the diſtance of four days' journey from the Syrtes, to the country of Ammon.[z]

The ſands which the Macedonian army traverſed, according to Q. Curtius, were heated in ſuch a manner as to ſcorch[a] the feet, and

ευκρασιαν·" (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--198.) Arrian confirms the reality of this local fertility, but he allows it to extend only to forty ſtadia. "Αυτ@ δε εν μεσω ολιγ@ ων (ὁσον γαρ πλεισον αυτε ες πλατ@ διεχει, ες τεσσαρακοντα μαλισα σαδιυς ερχεται) καταπλεως εσιν ἡμερων δενδρων, ελαιων, και φοινικων, κ᾽ ενδρωσ@ μον@ των πηριξ· Και πηγη εξ αυτε ανισχει·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 4.-186.) Q. Curtius is a little more luxuriant. "Tandem ad ſedem conſecratam Deo ventum eſt. Incredibile dictu, inter vaſtas ſolitudines ſita, undique ambientibus ramis, vix in denſam umbram cadente ſole contecta eſt: multique fontes dulcibus aquis paſſim manantibus alunt ſilvas. Cæli quoque mira temperies, verno tempori maxime ſimilis, omnes anni partes pari ſalubritate percurrit." (Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--210. 211.) Le Clerc hath diſſected with critical acrimony this deſcription of a temperate climate under a blazing ſun, but Perizonius (Curt. Vind. 144.) defends both Diodorus Siculus and Q. Curtius, with great judgment and ability. Lucan infers the divinity of the place from its ſurrounding ſcenery.

"Eſſe locis ſuperos, teſtatur ſilva per omnem
Sola virens Libyen. Nam quidquid pulvere ſicco
Separat ardentem tepida Berenicide Lepti,
Ignorat fondes; ſolus nemus abſtulit Hammon
Silvarum fons cauſa loco."

Lib. 9.--522.

By a ſtrange revolution of events the neighbourhood of the temple of Jupiter Ammon became the reſidence of ſeveral Chriſtian prelates, during the Arian perſecution. Athanaſius mentions it. Apol. ad Conſt. 317. Hiſt. Arrian. 387.

z "Τεταρταιυς μεν ουν φασιν απο τε μυχε της μεγαλης Συρτεως τυς κατ' αυτο μαλακως βαδιζοντας, ὡς επι χειμερινας ανατολας αφικνεισθαι· Εσι δε ὁ τοπος ὁυτ@ εμφερης τω Αμμωνι, φοινικοτροφ@, τε κ᾽ υυδρ@·" Strabo. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--1196.

a "Terra cæloque aquarum penuria eſt: ſteriles arenæ jacent; quas ubi vapor ſolis accendit, fervido ſolo exurente veſtigia, intolerabilis æſtus exſiſtit. Luctandumque eſt, non tantum cum ardore et ſiccitate regionis, ſed etiam cum tenaciſſimo ſabulo, quod prælatum, et veſtigio cedens, ægre

and as they gave way as the troops paſſed over them, the march became uncommonly painful and fatiguing. To augment their ſufferings, neither the Heavens nor the Earth ſupplied them with any [b] water. In a few lines afterwards we are told of a tremendous ſtorm, [c] attended with very heavy rain, by which the army was greatly refreſhed; but the ſtory that had juſt been related to us, does not ſeem to be authenticated by ſuch an anecdote. It may be aſked how Alexander could penetrate into this vaſt ſolitude, and direct his march through ſuch a pathleſs deſert. Q. Curtius hath given him a flight of crows [d] for guides, and Calliſthenes, [e] to make the circumſtance more extraordinary, informs us the

ægre moliuntur pedes. (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--208.) I find no authority for the "ils ebouloient ſous les pas des voyageurs et menacoient à chaque inſtant de les engloutir," and I omit it.

[b] "Repente, ſive illud Deorum munus, ſive caſus fuit; obductæ cœlo nubes condidere ſolem: ingens æſtu fatigatis, etiamſi aqua deficeret, auxilium. Enimvero, ut largum quoque imbrem excuſſerunt procellæ; pro ſe quiſque excipere eum, quidam ob ſitim impotentes ſui, ore quoque hianti captare cæperunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209, 210.

[c] "Quatriduum per vaſtas ſolitudines abſumptum eſt. Jamque haud procul oraculi ſede aberant; quum complures corvi agmini occurrunt, modico volatu prima ſigna antecedentes: et modo humi reſidebant, quum lentius agmen incederet; modo ſe pennis levabant, antecedentium iterque monſtrantium ritu." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--210.

[d] "Aperuere ſe campi alto obruti ſabulo; haud ſecus quam profundum æquor ingreſſi, terram oculis requirebant. Nulla arbor, nullum culti ſoli occurrebat veſtigium." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 7. Tom. 1.--209.

[e] "'Ο δε την θαυμασιωτατον (ὡς Καλλισθενης φησιν) ταις φωναις ανακαλυμενοι τυς πλανομενυς νυκτως ϗ κλαζοντες, εις ιχνος καθιςασαν της παρειας'" (Plutarch de Vit. Alex. Plut. Oper. Tom. 1. 680.) The flight of crows is reduced by many of the hiſtorians to a pair, and by Ptolemy theſe two black

the ſtragglers from the main body of the army were recalled into the road by their croaking.

Darius in the mean time was not inactive, but again collected an immenſe number of men, from every corner of his extenſive empire, to oppoſe the farther progreſs of his formidable enemy, who advanced rapidly, on quitting Ægypt, towards the Euphrates, which he croſſed at Tapſacus. Pliny[f] and Dion Caſſius have entertained a different opinion, and imagine Alexander to have croſſed the river near Zeugma on a bridge, ſuſpended by chains of iron.[g] Theſe writers were however undoubtedly led into an error by the etymology

black Guides metamorphoſed into Dragons. Arrian naturally appears to have his doubts, but his underſtanding and his inclinations are at variance. "Πτολεμαιος μεν δη ὁ Λαγου λεγει δρακοντας δυο ειναι προ του στρατευματος, φωνη ἱεντας, καὶ τουτοις Αλεξανδρον κελευσαι ἑπεσθαι τους ηγομονας, πιστευσαντας τω Θειω· τους δε ἡγησασθαι την ὁδον την τε ες το μαντειον, καὶ ὁπισω αυθις· Αριστοβουλῳ δε (καὶ ὁ πλειων λογῳ ταυτη κατεχει) κορακας δυο προπετωμενους της στρατιας, τουτους γενεσθαι Αλεξανδρῳ τους ἡγημονας· Και ὁτι μεν θειον τι ξυνεπελαβεν αυτῳ, εχω ισχυρισασθαι, ὁτι καὶ το εικῳ ταυτη εχει· τοδε ατρεκες τω λογῳ αφειλοντο ὁι αλλη καὶ αλλη αυτο εξηγησαμενοι·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 3.--185, 186.

[f] "Et exſtare ferream catenam apud Euphratem amnem in urbe quæ Zeugma appellatur, qua Alexander magnus ibi junxerat pontem. (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 34. C. 43. Tom. 5.--150, 151.) "Κατα το Ζευγμα ὁυτω γαρ απο της του Αλεξανδρου στρατειας το χωριον εκεινο, ὁτι ταυτη επεραιωθη, κεκληται·" (Dion. Caſſius. Lib. 40. Tom. 1.--235.) Lucan hath a ſimilar idea,

——————"Nunc Parthia ruptis
Excedat clauſtris vetitam per ſecula ripam
Zeugmaque Pellæum."

Lib. 8.--235.

[g] And of this opinion is Strabo. "Θαψακου, καθ'ὁ ην το Ζευγμα του Ευφρατου το παλαιον επι την του Τιγριδος διαβασιν, καθ'ην διεβη Αλεξανδρος αυτον." (Strabo. Lib. 17.--1082.) It is probable that the younger Cyrus croſſed the Euphrates in nearly the ſame place. Xenoph. Expeditio Cyri. Lib. 1.--72.

etymology of the word, but the itinerary of the Macedonian army, from Tyre to Arbela, proves decidedly the impoſition.

Mazæus had been ordered by Darius to defend the paſſage of the Euphrates, but he abandoned the poſt and retreated, having firſt laid waſte the country to deprive the Macedonian army of forage and ſubſiſtence. Four days after Alexander had paſſed the Euphrates and the Tigris without any oppoſition, he diſcovered a body of cavalry, which was immediately purſued. Many priſoners were taken, and they gave him the intelligence, that Darius was encamped on a wide plain upon the banks of the Bumado, not far from Gaugamele. The troops had a few days allowed them to recover their fatigues, and the Macedonian Monarch then moved forward again, and took poſt at the diſtance only of ſixty ſtadia from the Perſian camp. Arrian furniſhes us with theſe particulars,[h] which are very neceſſary to correct the inaccuracy of Diodorus Siculus.

This latter hiſtorian relates that Mazæus was detached to defend the river,[i] without ſpecifying what river it was, that he was ordered to ſecure. It muſt, however, have been the Euphrates, though it is not named. The Macedonian army paſſed the anonymous river, and Alexander ſtretched on the following day

[h] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 7, 8, 9.--193——199.

[i] "Την διαβασιν τυ ποταμυ" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--203.

directly towards the enemy, and encamped in their preſence. The remainder of the narrative ſeems to intimate, that the two armies came to blows two days after the paſſage of the Euphrates.[k]—— Diodorus Siculus may have miſtaken the Euphrates for the Tigris, and his errors in conſequence of this conjecture will become leſs palpable and of leſs importance, but their number will not be diminiſhed.

The imagination is ever on the watch to eſcape from the fetters of hiſtorical reſtriction, and, regardleſs of contradictions and their conſequences, is apt to wander through the flowery fields of fancy, as the inclination leads it. Q. Curtius proves the propriety of the obſervation in his account of the battle of Gaugamele. On the plain, as he tells us, where the two armies encountered, neither buſh nor tree was to be ſeen, and the view was as boundleſs as the horizon.[l] Such a deſcription does not correſpond with Alexander's orders to level every obſtacle, that interrupted the motions of his troops,[m] and the poſition which a detachment occupied a little

[k] "Τὴν δ'υςεραίαν συντεταγμένην ἔχων τὴν ςρατιὰν, ωροηγεν επι τὸν ωολεμιὸν, ἡ συνεγγυς γενομενῳ των Περσων, κατεςρατοωεδευσεν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--203.

[l] "Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vaſta planities. Ne ſtirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiant ſolum: liberque proſpectus oculorum etiam quæ procul receſſere, permittitur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--233.

[m] "Itaque ſi qua campi eminebant, juſſit æquari, totumque faſtigium extendi." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--233, 234.

little before the action upon a height, that the Perſians had abandoned.[n]

Moſt of the hiſtorians reckon the Perſian army to have amounted to a million of men, and though the calculation may appear extravagant, it certainly does not exceed the bounds of probability. All the nations in fact from the Euxine ſea to the extremities of the Eaſt had made a common cauſe, and ſent Darius very numerous and powerful reinforcements. It was the cuſtom of the Aſiatics to carry their wives and children along with them in their military expeditions, and Perſian luxury could not diſpenſe with the want of a crowd of the uſeleſs followers of a camp; two circumſtances which will conſiderably diminiſh the number of the real and effective troops. If we conſider likewiſe the living clouds of Barbarians, that have ſpread themſelves in different ages over the Weſtern world, and thoſe immenſe bodies of more regular troops, that under the conduct of many Tartarian princes, poſſeſſed themſelves of almoſt all the realms of Aſia, we may eaſily conceive that ſuch a multitude might have been collected to combat on the plains of Aſſyria for the ſafety of the Perſian empire.

[n] "Mazæus——cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum proſpiciebantur caſtra, conſederat. Macedones eam ipſum collem, quem deſeruerat, occupaverunt: nam et tutior planitie erat." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 12. Tom. 1.--263.) But the woods and valleys which echoed with the ſhouts of the armies are ſtill more inconſiſtent and abſurd.——"Macedones, ingentem, pugnantium more, edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Perſis, nemora valleſque circumjectas terribili ſono implevere." Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 12. Tom. 1.--264.

The Scythians and Bactrians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour on this memorable day, and ruſhed with impetuoſity on the left wing of the Macedonian army, on which they made ſome impreſſion. A detachment alſo of the Perſians made its way to the baggage of their enemy, who loſt, notwithſtanding theſe vigorous attacks leſs than three hundred men according to Q. Curtius,[o] and five hundred agreeable to Diodorus Siculus,[p] excluſive of the wounded. One hundred men and a thouſand horſe are ſuppoſed by Arrian[q] to have been left on the field of battle, or to have fallen in the purſuit. The loſs of the Perſian army amounted by his account to three hundred thouſand men,[r] but it ſeems exaggerated. Dexippus[s] lowers it to one hundred and thirty thouſand, and Diodorus Siculus[t] to nearly ninety thouſand. Zozimus[w] hath boldly aſſerted that almoſt the whole of the Perſian

[o] "Macedonum minus quam trecenti deſiderati ſunt." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--297.

[p] "Των δε Μακεδονων ανηρεθησαν μεν εις ωεντακοσιυς, τραυματιαι δ' εγενοντο ωαμπληθεις." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--207.

[q] "Απεθανον δε των αμφ' Αλεξανδρον, ανδρες μεν ες εκατον μαλιςα· ἱπποι δε εκ τε των τραυματων ϰ) της κακοωαθειας της εν τε διωξει, ὑωερ τους χιλιυς." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--214.

[r] "Των βαρβαρων δε, νεκρων μεν ελεγοντο ες τριακοντα μυριαδας" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 16.--215.) Arrian however qualifies it with the "Ελεγοντο"

[s] Apud. Cedrenum. 125.

[t] "Των βαρβαρων εν ταυτη τη μαχη κατεκοωησαν οἱ ωαντες ἱωωεις τε ϰ) ωεζοι ωλειυς των εννεα μυριαδων." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--207.

[w] "Και την μαχην εις Αρβηλαν ωρος αυτον (Δαρειον) ωοιησαμενω, τοσουτον εκρατησεν, ὡς ε ωαντας μεν σχεδον ανελειν, Δαρειυ δε συν ολιγοις φυγοντω." Zozimus. Lib. 1. C. 4.--9. 8vo Lipſ. 1784..

ſian troops was deſtroyed, but Q. Curtius appears to have adopted the moſt probable calculation, and ſtates their loſs at forty thouſand.[x] It is indeed the only circumſtance in his relation of this action, that we can literally ſubſcribe to; in every other, the qualifications of the hiſtorian are totally wanting, and we have the deſcriptions of a poet, or the declamations of an orator.

The following ſentences convey to us ſome parts of the ſpeech of Darius to his troops immediately before the engagement. "Dare[y] to conquer and the work is done. Renown and fame are but weak arms againſt brave men, therefore do not regard them in the enemy. For it is raſhneſs you have hitherto feared, and miſtaken for courage; which when its firſt fury is ſpent, becomes languid and dull, like thoſe animals that have loſt their ſtings.—As for Alexander, how great ſoever he may appear to the cowardly and fearful, he is ſtill but one individual creature; and, in my

x "Cecidere Perſarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt, millia quadringenta." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 16. Tom. 1.--297.

y "Audete modo vincere; famamque, infirmiſſimum adverſus fortes viros telum, contemnite? Temeritas eſt, quam adhuc pro virtute timuiſtis: quæ ubi primum impetum effudet, velut quædam animalia amiſſo aculeo, torpet.———Alexander, quantuſcunque ignavis et timidis videri poteſt; unum eſt animal: et, ſi quid mihi creditis, temerarium et vecors; adhuc noſtro pavore, quam ſua virtute felicius! nihil autem poteſt eſſe diuturnum, cui non ſubeſt ratio, licet felicitas adſpirare videatur; tamen ad ultimum temeritati non ſufficit. Præterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum, et fortuna nunquam ſimpliciter indulget———niſi quod in vobis eſt, ipſe ego majore parte captivus ſum. Eripite viſcera mea ex vinculis: reſtituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipſe mori non recuſo; parentem, liberos, nam conjugem in illo carcere amiſi." Q. Curt. Lib. 3. C. 14.--280, 282, 284.

my opinion, both raſh and fooliſh. Now nothing can be laſting that is not ſupported by reaſon, and though he ſeems to be ſucceſsful, yet at long run he'll pay for his temerity. Beſides, the turns and revolutions of things are of ſhort duration, there is no ſuch thing as an unmixed felicity.——I myſelf am more than half a captive, unleſs you exert yourſelves: free my bowels from their bondage, reſtore to me thoſe dear pledges, (for which I am willing myſelf to die) my mother and children, for I have loſt my wife in that priſon." [z]

It is impoſſible perhaps to transfuſe into any language the warm picturesque expreſſions of Q. Curtius, but whilſt they diſplay the brilliancy of his imagination, they condemn effectually his judgment. This harangue of the Perſian Monarch is utterly inconſiſtent with the character of Darius, and he ſeems rather to be declaiming in a ſchool of rhetoric, than to addreſs his troops with the dignity of a Monarch and in a manner that his peculiar ſituation ought to have preſcribed to him. The narrative of Q. Curtius is alſo full of ill-timed reflections, and his ignorance of military affairs is attempted to be concealed in impenetrable obſcurity, and a labyrinth of words, that are accumulated without reaſon or neceſſity. Theſe faſtidious amplifications have ſometimes rendered his deſcriptions almoſt incomprehenſible, and the manner in which he ſpeaks of the chariots armed with ſcythes is particularly confuſed.

[z] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 1.--255, 256, 257.

fuſed.[a] Arrian[b] in every reſpect is entitled to a preference, and his account of the battle of Gaugamele, is the only ſource, from which we can derive any certain information of the manœuvres of either the Perſian or Macedonian army.

The eclipſe of the moon at the commencement of the Myſteries, on the fifteenth day of the month Boedromion, happened according to Plutarch,[c] twelve days before this celebrated battle, which is therefore irrevocably ſettled to have been fought on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month Boedromion, in the ſecond year of the 112th Olympiad, and 331 years before Chriſt. Arrian's computation then, who fixes this action in the month Puanepſion,

[a] "Ex ſummo temone haſtæ præfixæ ferro eminebant: utrimque a jugo ternos direxerant gladios: et inter radios rotarum plura ſpicula eminebant in adverſum: aliæ deinde falces ſummis rotarum orbibus hærebant; et aliæ in terram dimiſſæ quidquid obvium concitatis equis fuiſſet amputaturæ." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 9. Tom. 1.--228, 229.) After all the labours of the commentators this paſſage ſtill retains its original perplexity. Drakenborch in his edition of Q. Curtius hath abridged moſt of their obſervations, and Scheffer (De Re Vehiculari. Lib. 2. C. 15.) hath launched into the ſubject at length.

[b] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 12, 13, 14, 15.--205——215.

[c] "Την δε μεγαλην μαχην προς Δαρειον ουκ εν Αρβηλοις (ὡς περ οἱ αλλοι γραφουσιν) αλλα εν Παυσαμελοις γενεσθαι συνεπεσεν·——ἡ μεν ουν σεληνη τε Βοηδρομιωνος εξελιπεν, περι την των μυστηριων των Αθηνησιν αρχην ενδεκατη δε απο της εκλειψεως νυκτι τον στρατοπεδων εν οπλοις γεγονατων· &c. &c. &c. (Plut. de Vit. Alex. Plut. Oper. Tom. 1.--683.) "Preceda de onze jours——la bataille de Gaugamele," is the Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion, but he did not ſufficiently attend to that of Plutarch, and Langhorn appears to have fallen into the ſame error. If Darius only ranged his troops in order of battle, and took a review of them by torch-light on the eleventh night, "Ενδεκατη νυκτι" after this lunar eclipſe, the action muſt have been fought on the ſucceeding day. By the Julian calendar this eclipſe was ſuppoſed to have happened on the twentieth of September, and the calculation therefore of Sir Iſaac Newton, who fixes the action on the ſecond of October following is very accurate. See the Chronology of ancient Kingdoms. 355.

on,[d] is erroneous. Ariſtophanes was the Athenian Archon at that time, and both Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus[e] and Theophraſtus[f] relate this event under the magiſtracy of Ariſtophon, his ſucceſſor. But theſe two writers deceived themſelves, and concluded from the news of this deciſive action having reached Athens after the expiration of the Archonſhip of Ariſtophanes, that it was alſo fought under that of Ariſtophon. Juſtin hath mentioned the defeat of the united forces of the Perſian empire in the fifth year of the reign of Alexander, but the ſixth was the true period of this engagement, which was attended with the total ruin of the Perſian monarchy.

The Conqueror of the Eaſt, after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Babylon[g] and Suza, then marched for Perſepolis. Q. Curtius

[d] "Τουτο τελος τη μαχη εγενετο, επι αρχοντος Αθηνησιν Αριστοφανους, μηνος Πυανεψιωνος." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 15.--215.

[e] "Επ' Αριστοφωντος αρχοντος——καθ' ὁν χρονον Αλεξανδρος την εν Αρβηλοις ενικεν μαχην." Dion. Halic. Epiſt. ad Ammæum. Tom. 6.--746.

[f] "Και την επ' Αριστοφωντος ποτε γενομενην τω ρητορος μαχην." (Theophraſti Charact. 7.--34. 8vo Cant. 1712.) Theophraſtus does not here particularly ſpecify the engagement, and I believe Cauſabon is the only Editor who ſuggeſted that the ſentence alludes to the battle near Gaugamele.—On this conſtruction the Greek author muſt undoubtedly have miſtaken the year. As the celebrated battle, however in which Agis the ſon of Archidamus fell at Megalopolis, and in which Greece had ſuch an intereſt, was really fought under the Archonſhip of Ariſtophon. (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom.--2. 208.) It is more natural to imagine that action was intended to be referred to.

[g] Q. Curtius hath given the following account of the ſurrender of Babylon.——"Babylonem procedenti Alexandro Mazæus, qui ex acie in urbem confugerat, cum adultis liberis ſupplex occurrit, urbem ſeque dedens." He adds, "Gratus adventus ejus fuit regi. Quippe magni operis futura

us [h] relates that four thouſand Greeks, who had been barbarouſly mutilated in addition to the misfortune of captivity, here threw themſelves in Alexander's way. This melancholy ſpectacle affected him exceedingly; and melting with compaſſion at the recital of their ſufferings, he offered them the choice of a reſidence in the country which they then inhabited, or a return into Greece. —A quiet and undiſturbed aſylum, where they might wear out the remainder of their days, was all that in their ſituation could be wiſhed; and they preferred a ſettlement at a diſtance, by which their fellow-citizens and friends might at leaſt be ſpared the ſhock of ſeeing their deplorable condition. Q. Curtius, as uſual, does not fail to furniſh us with a ſpeech [i] to theſe unfortunate captives, whoſe number as appears from Diodorus Siculus [k] and Juſtin, [l] did not exceed eight hundred. Arrian hath not mentioned them, and from his ſilence we may ſtill doubt of this wanton exceſs of cruelty.

futura erat obſidio tam munitæ urbis." (Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 1. Tom. 1.--307.) But if we are to believe Herodotus, Darius had diſmantled the city and ruined its fortifications after its revolt. "Βαβυλων νυν μεν ὁυτω τοδευτερον ἁιρεθη· Δαρειος δε επει τε εκρατησε των Βαβυλωνιων, τετο μεν, σφεων το τειχος περιειλε, κ᾽ τας πυλας πασας απεσπασε." Herodotus. Lib. 3.--278.

h "Miſerabile agmen, inter pauca Fortunæ exempla memorandum, regi occurrit. Captivi erant Græci ad quatuor millia fere, quos Perſæ vario ſuppliciorum modo adfecerant, alios pedibus, quoſdam manibus auribuſque amputatis, inuſtiſque barbararum literarum notis." Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--342.

i Q. Curt. Lib. 5. C. 5. Tom. 1.--344.

k "Απηντησαν γαρ αυτω μεθ᾽ἱκετηριων Ἑλληνες ὑπο των προτερον Βασιλεων αναξατοι γεγονοτες, οκτακοσιοι μεν σχεδον τον αριθμον οντες, ταις δ᾽ἡλικιας οἱ πλειστοι μεν γεγηρακοτες, ηκρωτηριασμενοι δε παντες· οἱ μεν χειρας, οἱ δε ποδας, οἱ δε ωτα κ᾽ ρινας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--213.

l "Octingenti admodum Græci occurrunt Alexandro, qui pœnam captivitatis truncatâ corporis parte tulerunt." Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 14.--295.

The Macedonian army paſſed the Caſpian defiles, and followed Darius in his retreat with aſtoniſhing celerity. Soon afterwards they received intelligence, that Beſſus and his accomplices, after loading Darius with chains, had added aſſaſſination to their crimes, and put their unfortunate Monarch to death. The hiſtorians of Alexander, and particularly Q. Curtius, have taken no little pains to heighten the death of Darius with every intereſting and pathetic circumſtance.———In his laſt moments he is repreſented addreſſing his prayers to Heaven for the proſperity of his victorious enemy, and diſcovers a grandeur of ſoul, that may not poſſibly have been his own.——They finiſh the affecting portrait by painting his amiable and humane qualities, and a ſtrong and ſtriking contraſt ariſes between his misfortunes and his virtues. But the Eaſtern traditions have handed down to us the character of this laſt King of the Kaianides in darker ſhades, and the cruelty of his temper in conjunction with his tyranny, is recorded to have drawn down upon him the general indignation of his ſubjects, and led him to his ruin. [m]

The

[m] Herbelot Bibl. Oriental. Dara. Dr. Gillies in his valuable Hiſtory of Greece, obſerves, if "the faſhionable ſcepticiſm of the times ſhould heſitate, the reader has only to aſk what Oriental hiſtorian has related the tranſactions of Darius with the fulneſs and accuracy ſo conſpicuous in Arrian?"——The ſeveral authors who have tranſmitted to us an account of the cruelty of the Perſian Monarch may be ſeen in Herbelot: I do not vouch for their authority, but in the aggregate, notwithſtanding they vary in a few circumſtances, they may have ſome weight. Q. Curtius hath left a memorable inſtance of his barbarity upon record. "Nam etiam ſaucii quidam et invalidi, qui agmen non poterant perſequi, excepti erant. Quos omnes, inſtinctu Purpuratorum, barbarâ feritate ſævientium, præciſis aduſtiſque manibus circumduci, ut copias ſuas noſcerent; ſatiſque omnibus ſpectatis, nuntiare quæ vidiſſent regi ſuo, juſſit." (Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1.--108.)

The Perſian Monarch cloſed his unhappy reign in the month Hecatombœon, when Ariſtophon was Archon at Athens, as Arrian [n] tells us, in the third year of the 112th Olympiad, nine months after the fatal battle of Gaugamele, according to Uſher, [o] inſtead of a year and ſome months, as Sir Iſaac Newton hath conjectured. [p]

The Greeks in the Perſian pay, continued to ſerve Darius with unſhaken fidelity and fortitude to the laſt moment of his life. At the death of this Prince they amounted to fifteen hundred, and followed the ſtandard of Artabaſes, but he was ſoon obliged to

 accept

1.--108.) and where he mentions the original mildneſs and tractability of the Perſian Monarch's diſpoſition, it ſeems, in the latter part of life, theſe virtues had diſappeared. "Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, niſi ſuam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet. Itaque, veritatis impatiens, hoſpitem ac ſupplicem, tunc maxime utilia ſuadentem, abſtrahi juſſit ad capitale ſupplicium." (Lib. 3. C. 3. Tom. 1.--69, 70.)——Arrian mentions the maſſacre of the ſick and wounded Macedonians at Iſſus, by Darius, in ſevere terms, "Χαλεπως αικισαμενος απεκτεινεν·" (Lib. 2. C. 7.--120.) and though he hath afterwards defended his character, it is in a manner perhaps that ſhews it was liable to objection. "Εις δε τα αλλα ουδεν ανεπιεικες εργον αποδειξαμενω, η ουδε εγγενομενον αυτω αποδειξασθαι· ότι όμου μεν εις την βασιλειαν παρελθειν, όμου δε προσπολεμεισθαι προς τε Μακεδονων κ᾽ των Ελληνων ξυνεβη· ουκουν ουδε εθελοντι εξην ετι ύβριζειν ες τους ύπηκοους, εν μειζονι κινδυνω ήπερ εκεινοι καθεστηκοτι·" (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 22.--233.) The "Ουκουν ουδε εθελοντι εξην ετι ύβριζειν ες τους ύπηκοους," is no very flattering compliment to his memory. When there is no power of being vicious, virtue becomes equivocal, and ceaſes almoſt to deſerve the name.

[n] "Τουτο το τελος Δαρειω εξενετο, επι αρχοντος Αθηναιοις Αριστοφωντος, μηνος Εκατομβαιωνος·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 22.--233.

[o] See Uſherii Annales. 324, 325. Folio. 1650.

[p] Chronology of ancient kingdoms. 355.

accept of the terms which the Macedonian Monarch offered him, and the Greeks were perſuaded to ſurrender. Diodorus Siculus[q] and Q. Curtius[r] inform us, with ſome trifling variations, that they were diſtributed in the different diviſions of the Macedonian army, but Arrian[s] aſſerts they formed a ſeparate and detached corps under the command of Andronicus, who had prevailed on them to rely on Alexander's clemency, and to offer him their future ſervices.

This little intrepid band of Warriors ſurvived the ruin of the Perſian

[q] Diodorus Siculus ſeems to intimate that this Grecian corps, hearing of the favourable reception that many of the officers of Darius had met with, made a voluntary offer of its ſervices to Alexander. "Πολλοι των συμπεφευγοτων ηγεμονων τω Δαρειω παρεδωκαν αυτες· ὁις επιεικως προσενεχθεις, μεγαλην δοξαν επιεικειας απηνεγκατο· ευθυς γαρ ὁι Δαρειω συνστρατευμενοι των Ἑλληνων, οντες περι χιλιες ϗ πεντακοσιες, ανδρεια τε διαφεροντες, παρεδοσαν ἑαυτες Αλεξανδρω· ϗ συγγνωμης αξιωθεντες, κατεταχθησαν εις τας ταξεις επι ταις αυταις μισθοφοραις·" Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--219.

[r] Q. Curtius hath preſerved this generous but ineffectual effort for the ſafety of the Spartans who had joined them. "Græcos, quos Artabazus adduxerat, convocari jubet: at illi, niſi Lacedæmoniis fides daretur, reſpondent, ſe quid agendum ipſis foret, deliberaturos. Legati erant Lacedæmoniorum miſſi ad Darium, quo victo adplicaverunt ſe Græcis mercede apud Perſas militantibus. Rex omiſſis ſponſionum fideique pignoribus, venire eos juſſit, fortunam quam ipſe dediſſet habituros. Diu cunctantes, pleriſque conſiliis variantibus, tandem venturos ſe pollicentur. At Democrates Athenienſis, qui maxime Macedonum opibus ſemper obſtiterat, veniâ deſperatâ, gladio ſe transfugit. Ceteri, ſicut conſtituerant, ditioni Alexandri ſe ipſos permittunt. Mille et quingenti milites erant. Præter hos legati ad Darium miſſi nonaginta. In ſupplementum diſtributus miles: ceteri remiſſi domum, præter Lacedæmonios, quos tradi in cuſtodiam juſſit. (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--416, 417.) The negotiation may be ſeen in Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 23, 24.--239.) who hath ably vindicated the Macedonian Monarch.

[s] "Τες δε αλλες ξυστρατευεσθαι ὁι επι μισθω τω αυτω εκελευσε· ϗ επιταξεν αυτοις Ανδρονικον, ὁσπερ ηγαγε τε αυτες, ϗ ενδηλω εἰσονει ὡ φαυλον ποιημενω ζωζαι τες ανδρας." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 24.--239.

Perſian Empire, after having defended it with uncommon bravery, at the battles of the Granicus, of Iſſus, and of Gaugamele. Their companions had either all fallen under the Macedonian arm, or had been made priſoners. Leoſthenes ſeems therefore to have no pretenſions to be ranked by Pauſanias[t] amongſt the benefactors of his country for his embarkation, in oppoſition to Alexander's inclinations, of fifty thouſand Greeks, who had ſerved in the Perſian armies, and his reſtoration of them to their country. Greece itſelf was hardly capable of maintaining an army of fifty thouſand men, and the circumſtance is not confirmed by any work of the ancients, that hath deſcended to us.

Alexander's conduct and the reſolution, that he took in the purſuit of Beſſus, prove the ſtrength of his underſtanding, if any credit is due to Q. Curtius. The Macedonian army having diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction at the Prince's future projects, which opened to them only freſh ſcenes of difficulty and danger, he ordered both his own baggage, and that of the whole army to be burnt.[w] Plutarch

t "Ειναι δε απαντων Ελληνων κ᾽ Λεωσθενην τιθεναι κ᾽ Αρατον ευεργετας· ὁ μεν γε το Ελληνων μισθοφορικον, κ᾽ εν Περσαις περι πεντε τω μυριαδας επι θαλασσαν καταβαντας ναυσιν, ες την Ελλαδα ανεσωσε κ᾽ ακοντ@ Αλεξανδρω." Pauſanias 706.

w "Quum grave ſpoliis, adparatuque luxuriæ agmen vix moveretur; ſuas primum, deinde totius exercitus ſarcinas, exceptis admodum neceſſariis, conferri juſſit in medium. Planities ſpatioſa erat, in quam vehicula onuſta perduxerant. Expectantibus cunctis, quid deinde eſſet imperaturus, jumenta juſſit abduci; ſuiſque primum ſarcinis face ſubditâ, ceteras incendi præcepit. Flagrabant exurentibus dominis, quæ ut intacta ex urbibus hoſtium raperent, ſæpe flammas reſtinxerant; nullo

tarch[x] relates the ſame fact, but he gives it a later date, and refers it to the commencement of the Indian expedition; though Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus appear not to have taken notice of it, as may be inferred from Arrian's ſilence, who made great uſe of their memoirs.

The Macedonian Monarch extended his conqueſts beyond the Iaxartes, and defeated the Scythians who ſent an embaſſy to him previous to the engagement. Q. Curtius hath tranſmitted to us the ſubſtance of the ſpeech, in which the deputies addreſſed Alexander, but its authenticity hath been diſputed. "If[y] the gods had given you a body ſuitable to the inſatiable greedineſs of your mind,

lo ſanguinis pretium audente deflere, quum regias opes idem ignis exureret." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--429.

x "Μελλων δε ὑπερβαλλειν εις την Ινδικην, ὡς ἑωρα πληθει λαφυρων την στρατιαν ηδη βαρειαν κ᾽ δυσκινητον ουσαν, ἁμ᾽ ἡμερα συνεσκευασμενων των ἁμαξων, σωστας μεν ὑπεστρεσεν τας αυτε κ᾽ των ἑταιρων· μετα δε ταυλας εκελευσε κ᾽ ταις των Μακεδονων ενειναι πυρ." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696, 697.

y "Si Dii habitum corporis tui aviditati animi parem eſſe voluiſſent; orbis te non caperet: alterâ manu Orientem; alterâ Occidentem contingeres. Et hoc adſequutus ſcire velles, ubi tanti numinis fulgor conderetur. Sic quoque concupiſcis, quæ non capis. Ab Europâ petis Aſiam; ex Aſiâ tranſis in Europam: deinde ſi humanum genus omne ſuperaveris; cum ſilvis, et nivibus, et fluminibus, feriſque beſtiis geſturus es bellum. Quid tu, ignoras arbores magnos diu creſcere, unâ horâ extirpari? Stultus eſt, qui fructus earum ſpectat, altitudinem non metitur. Vide, ne dum ad cacumen pervenire contendis; cum ipſis ramis, quos comprehenderis, decidas. Leo quoque aliquando minimarum avium pabulum fuit: et ferrum rubigo conſumit. Nihil tam firmum eſt, cui periculum non ſit etiam ab invalido. Quid nobis tecum eſt? nunquam terram tuam adtigimus. Qui ſis, unde venias, licetne ignorare in vaſtis ſilvis viventibus? nec ſervire ulli poſſumus, nec imperare deſideramus." (Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--543, 544.) "Scythæ ipſi omnium literarum rudes rhetorico calamiſtro inuſti in medium proderunt," is a part of the ſevere judgment that Le Clerc (Jud. Cort. 326.) hath paſſed upon this harangue.

mind, the world would not be able to contain you; you would ſtretch one arm out to the fartheſt extremities of the Eaſt, and the other to the remoteſt bounds of the Weſt; and not content therewith, would be for examining where the glorious body of the Sun hid itſelf; but even as you are, your ambition attempts what you are not capable of. You paſs out of Europe into Aſia, and from Aſia you return again to Europe; and when you have overcome all mankind, rather than be quiet, you'll quarrel with the woods and the mountains, the rivers and wild beaſts. Can you be ignorant, that large trees are a long time a growing, tho' an hour be ſufficient to cut them down? he is a fool that coveteth their fruit, without duly conſidering their height. Take heed that while you ſtrive to climb up to the top, you do not fall headlong with thoſe branches you have graſped. A lion has been ſometime the prey of the ſmalleſt birds; and iron itſelf is conſumed by ruſt. In fine, there is nothing ſo firm and ſtrong, but is in danger of periſhing by what is weaker. What have you to do with us? we never ſo much as ſet foot in your country. Shall not we who paſs our lives in the woods, be allowed to be ignorant who you are, and whence you come? know, that as we are not greedy of empire, ſo neither can we ſubmit to be ſlaves."[z] Q. Curtius continues the harangue, and in ſome ſentences perhaps expreſſes himſelf with a delicacy rather too refined, and a philoſophy in ſome meaſure inconſiſtent with the ſpeakers' characters. "Our

[z] Digby's Q. Curtius, Vol. 2.--42, 43.

"Our[a] poverty will ſtill be too nimble for your army, that is laden with the ſpoils of ſo many nations. Again, when you think us the fartheſt from you, you ſhall find us within your camp. We are equally ſwift either to fly or purſue.————Hold therefore your fortune as cloſe as you can, for ſhe is ſlippery, and will not be held againſt her will. Wholeſome advice is better diſcovered by the conſequences, than the preſent. Put a curb therefore to your proſperity, and you will govern it the better. We have a ſaying amongſt us, that fortune is without feet, and has only hands and wings, and that when ſhe reaches out her hands, ſhe will not ſuffer her wings to be touched."[b] This allegory on the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the uncertainty of human greatneſs is poſſibly too ingenious for a people drawn from paſtoral life, which hath little, if any, connection with literature and learning. If Q. Curtius had ſhortened this oration the ſentiments would certainly have had more force, and the images more expreſſion, but he could not deviate from himſelf. The matter however, it muſt be allowed, is very analogous to the genius of the perſons, who are ſuppoſed to have pronounced the harangue, and the Coſtume, to ſpeak metaphorically,

[a] "Paupertas noſtra velocior erit, quum exercitus tuus, prædam tot nationum vehit. Rurſus quum procul abeſſe nos credes, videbis in tuis caſtris, eadem velocitate et ſequimur et fugimus.————Proinde fortunam tuam preſſis manibus tene. Lubrica eſt, nec invita teneri poteſt. Salubre conſilium ſequens quum præſens, tempus oſtendit melius, impone felicitati tuæ frenos, facilius illam reges. Noſtri ſine pedibus dicant eſſe fortunam, quæ manus et pennas tantum habet; quum manus porrigit, pennas quoque comprehendere non ſinit. Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--247, 248.

[b] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--44.

metaphorically, is well preſerved. Under theſe circumſtances, there may be therefore ſome injuſtice in ſuſpecting its reality.[c]

The language of a rude and uncivilized people is generally a figurative language, and their metaphors, which are both bold and nervous, are as often introduced in their familiar converſation, as by our modern poets in an Epic poem. Their ſpeeches and harangues are naturally replete with images, with energy, and paſſion, and the ſame alluſions are reſorted to by the Scythian and the Savage.[d] The imagination of a people, neither enſlaved by artificial wants, nor corrupted by prejudices, muſt be ſtrongly affected by the great objects of nature, and every thing, that intereſts their preſervation and their liberty, muſt be one of the moſt powerful incentives that can actuate them.

Every ſentiment in this Scythian ſpeech is borrowed from the

[c] Maſcardi. Tract. della Art. Hiſt. C. 2. Ep. 1.—Rooke's Tranſlation of Arrian. Vol. 1. --220.—Voltaire Eſſai ſur le Mæurs et l'Eſprit des Nations. Tom. 14.--52. Ed. 8vo Geneve, 1775.

[d] "Figurative language," a great Writer hath obſerved, "owes its riſe chiefly to two cauſes; to the want of proper names for objects, and to the influence of imagination and paſſion over the form of expreſſion. Both theſe cauſes concur in the infancy of Society. Figures are commonly conſidered as artificial modes of ſpeech, deviſed by orators and poets, after the world had advanced to a refined ſtate. The contrary of this is the truth. Men never have uſed ſo many figures of ſtyle, as in thoſe rude ages, when, beſides the power of a warm imagination to ſuggeſt lively images, the want of proper and preciſe terms for the ideas they would expreſs, obliged them to have recourſe to circumlocution, metaphor, compariſon, and all thoſe ſubſtituted forms of expreſſion, which give a poetical air to language. An American chief, at this day, harangues at the head of his tribe, in a more bold metaphorical ſtyle, than a modern European would adventure to uſe in an Epic poem." Blair's Diſſert. Oſſian. Vol. 2.--285, 286. 8vo 1785.

viſible world, and every compariſon drawn from ſenſible and immediate objects, which are hourly preſented to the ſavage eye. One while, it is the ſetting ſun, the fall of an aged oak, the ruſt that devoureth the iron; at another it is a war declared againſt the woods and waters, and in a word the fear of groaning under a foreign yoke, and ſeeing an enemy penetrate into their foreſts, to trouble their repoſe and civilize them. Theſe are their firſt and principal apprehenſions, and they give both an impulſe to their eloquence, and rouſe every faculty of the ſoul, for the purpoſe of repelling to a diſtance the ſtorm, which menaces at once their liberty and manners.

The Latin hiſtorian was, notwithſtanding, aware that his fidelity was open to ſome diſquiſition, and that his Scythian oration had no great pretenſions either to belief or popular applauſe. "It [e] is ſaid," he tells us, "they addreſſed themſelves to the King in the following terms; which though perhaps different from our manners, who live in a politer age, and have our parts better improved, yet ſuch as it is, we ſhall faithfully relate, hoping that if their ſpeech be deſpiſed, our integrity will not be ſuſpected." [f]

Giving Q. Curtius credit for this proteſtation there are ſtill ſome apparent variations in the form of the harangue, and the colouring,

[e] "Abhorrent forſitan moribus noſtris et tempora et ingenia cultiora fortitis; ſed ut poſſit oratio eorum ſperni, tamen fides noſtra non debet, quæ utcunque tradita ſunt, incorrupta perferemus." Q. Curt. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--542.

[f] Digby's Q. Curtius. Vol. 2.--42.

ing, that he hath given it, to render it more agreeable to the taſte of his own times, as well as to ſhew a little of his own ingenuity, is eaſily diſcernible. The laſt reproach he ſeems to have particularly foreſeen, as he aſſures us, the Scythians [g] were perſons of ſuperior talents, and more improved underſtandings, than the reſt of the Barbarians; but his ideas on the difference of the taſte of his own times and that of the Scythians weaken the force of the obſervation. The Latin hiſtorian does not appear alſo to have ſufficiently conſidered the nature of the eloquence of a ſavage people, which equally originates from a poverty of language, and a ſimplicity of manners. [h] As nations become civilized, their ideas change, and the imagination is no longer affected, as in the ruder ſtate of ſociety, by the ſame objects. Their manner of viewing things, and their method of expreſſion neceſſarily vary, and their language cannot at the ſame time bear the impreſſion of the ſeparate and diſtinct characters of a ſavage and a poliſhed people. It is not in the power of Q. Curtius to reconcile the contradiction, but it is time to return to Alexander and his expeditions.

If the companions of the Macedonian Hero, who were beſt able to deſcribe his exploits from having been perſonally concerned in them, do not always agree in their accounts of the ſame facts,

[g] "Scythis autem non ut cæteris barbaris rudis et inconditus ſenſus eſt." Q. Curtius. Lib. 7. C. 8. Tom. 2.--542.

[h] The Abbe Arnaud hath made ſome ſenſible obſervations on this ſubject. Diſcours ſur les Langues, Var. Lit. Tom. 1.

ſome indulgence is certainly due to writers, who have afterwards taken up the ſame ſubject, and deſcribed it differently. Arrian hath faithfully preſerved the contradictory teſtimony of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus[i] on the capture of Cyropolis. Ptolemy pretends that the city ſurrendered, and that its inhabitants were made priſoners: Ariſtobulus aſſures us that it was taken by aſſault, and that the garriſon and citizens were indiſcriminately put to the ſword. It is extraordinary that there ſhould have exiſted a city with the name of Cyropolis in theſe remote regions; but notwithſtanding the Greeks ſometimes tranſlated into their own language the names of cities, they choſe in preference to give them new ones founded on ſome tradition, which they adopted without diſcernment, and Cyropolis may have been amongſt the number.

Q. Curtius hath committed an error, and been led into a miſtake by the name of Hecatompylos, which Seleucus Nicanor beſtowed on a city in Parthia.[k] Mentioning this city in the progreſs of Alexander's conqueſts, he infers that it was founded by the Greeks,[l] though they were utter ſtrangers to Parthia, before it was reduced under this Prince's obedience.

Theſe

i "Την δε έβδομην, πολιν εξ εφοδε ελαβε. Πτολεμαιος μεν λεγει ὅτι αυτος σφας ενδοιας· Αριστοβουλος δε, ὅτι βια καὶ ταυτην εξειλε, καὶ ὅτι πασας τους καταληφθεντας εν αυτη απεκτεινε· Πτολεμαιος δε καταπεμπει λεγει αυτον τους Αθηναιους τη στρατια καὶ δεδεμενους κελευσας φυλαττεσθαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 3.--263.

k Appian. De Bello Syriac. Tom. 1.--201. Amſt. 8vo 1670.

l "Urbs erat eâ tempeſtate clara Hecatompylos, condita a Græcis: ubi ſtativa rex habuit." Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 2. Tom. 1.--398, 399.

Theſe Fables and Anachroniſms are the reſult of the changes in the names of places, and cities, and they occaſion a multitude of miſtakes and difficulties.

After many different expeditions, the Macedonian army went into winter-quarters at Mautaca; but early in the ſpring it took again the field, and marched to attack the Rock, to which Oxyartes had retreated with the Sogdians. The Macedonian bravery and diſcipline were again conſpicuous, and the garriſon overawed and aſtoniſhed at the wonderful efforts of their enemy, laid down their arms.

The capture of Aornus which had ſucceſsfully reſiſted Hercules,[m] and the ſubmiſſion of Nyſa, ſuppoſed to have been founded by Bacchus, were two events that naturally furniſhed Alexander's followers with the ſubject of a parallel between the Grecian Hero and the two Pagan Deities. But it may be queſtioned if Bacchus and Hercules were ever known in India or the Eaſt. The adoration of theſe Divinities was equally repugnant to the religious principles and manners of the inhabitants, and Megaſthenes, a profeſſed partiſan of the ſuppoſition, ſpeaks of it only as traditionary,[n] and of Greek extraction. The arrival of Hercules in India,

m "Εφασαν τον Ἡρακλεα, τρις μεν προσβαλειν τη πετρα ταυτη, τρις δ' αποκρυσθηναι." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1008.

n "Και προ Αλεξανδρυ, Διονυσυ περι πολλω λογω κατεχει, ὡς κὴ τυτυ στρατευσαντω ες Ινδυς, κὴ καταστρεψαμενυ Ινδυς· Ἡρακλευς δε περι, υ πολλω."" Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.--559.

India, is conſidered even by this writer as very problematical,[o] but the opinion hath neverthelefs been adopted by writers ſince the reign of Alexander, and tranſmitted to poſterity on the apparent deciſive evidence of public monuments.[p] Strabo gives us the ſentiments of ſeveral writers who ſuppoſed the Oxydrachians to have been deſcended from Bacchus, and the Sibians to have ſprung from the companions[q] of Hercules; but he refutes very rationally theſe abſurd traditions, and introduces the opinions of the writers, that he mentions, with the following ſentence. "Megaſthenes and a few other authors believe the ſtories which have been told of Hercules and Bacchus, but Eratoſthenes and the greater number conſider them as fables, and as little deſerving of any credit, as many other relations of the Greeks."[r]

Alexander traverſed the Paropamiſus, entered into an alliance with Taxilus and Abiſares, and afterwards advanced to give battle to Porus, who had the courage to oppoſe the victorious army of the

o "Ἡρακλευς δε ε πολλα ὑπομνηματα" Arrian. Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.--559.

p The Farneſian palace at Rome, contains an inſcription, in which the arrival of Hercules on the banks of the Indus, and the foundation of a city with his name amongſt the Sibians are mentioned. Corſini hath very amply commented upon it. Herculis Exped. Geſta et Labores. 37.

q The weak pretenſions to this conſanguinity may be ſeen in Strabo, Lib. 15.--1008. and Arrian, Hiſt. Ind. C. 5.

r "Και τα Ἡρακλευς δε, κ᾽ Διονυσω, Μεγασθενης μεν μετ᾽ολιγων πισα ἡγειται· των δ᾽αλλων οἱ πλειυς, ὡν εσι κ᾽ Ερατοσθενης, απισα κ᾽ μυθωδε, καθαπερ κ᾽ τα παρα τοις Ἑλλησιν." (Strabo. Lib. 15.--1007.) The Baron de St. Croix ſays "Il finit en ces termes." To have expreſſed himſelf correctly he ſhould have ſaid "Il commence en ces termes." The error is a ſtrange one.

the Macedonian Monarch, and endeavoured to check the rapidity of his conqueſts. The Indian prince was advantageouſly poſted on the banks of the Hydaſpes,[s] in a ſituation that he had judiciouſly choſen to ſecure the paſſage of the river. A variety of manœuvres were made by the Macedonian army, which had been divided into different bodies, to deceive the enemy, and conceal the real place, in which the Hydaſpes was intended to be croſſed. Their firſt attempt was unſucceſsful, and miſcarried. During a very ſtormy night attended with very heavy rain, another effort was made, and the Macedonian Monarch eluded the vigilance of his antagoniſt and aided by the elements effected the paſſage of the river with ſafety. The Hydaſpes, which was interſected by iſlands, and its ſteep and broken banks covered with wood, afforded him ſome local advantages, which he did not ſuffer to eſcape him. Arrian hath deſcribed the intereſting movements[t] of both armies with great clearneſs and accuracy, but it is unneceſſary to enter into them at length. Ariſtobulus[w] relates that the ſon of Porus, who at firſt appeared diſpoſed to diſpute the paſſage, afterwards retreated with ſixty chariots, that he had with him; but other writers[x] aſſure us on the contrary, that the young prince attacked

[s] The modern Behut or Chælum.

[t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 12, 13, 14.--363——368.

[w] "Αριστοβυλος δε τον Πορυ παιδα λεγει σφαζαι αφικομενον ξυν ἁρμαζιν ὡς ἑξηκοντα, πριν το ὑστερον εκ της νησυ της μικρας περαζαι Αλεξανδρον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367.

[x] "Οι δε ἡ μαχην λεγουσιν εν τε εκβαζει γενεσθαι των Ινδων των ξυν τω παιδι τω Πορυ αφιγμενων, προς Αλεξανδρον.——Και γαρ ἡ αφικεσθαι ξυν μειζονι δυναμει τον Πορυ παιδα, ἡ αυτον τε Αλεξανδρον

attacked the Macedonian army with a ſuperiority of forces, and wounded with his own hand both Alexander's horſe Bucephalus, and Alexander. Arrian rejects theſe accounts, and beſtows his principal attention upon Ptolemy who ſignalized himſelf very particularly in this memorable engagement. From this general's report,[y] the ſon of Porus was detached with a hundred and twenty chariots and two thouſand horſe, but he arrived too late to be of the intended ſervice, as Alexander had already paſſed the laſt channel of the river. The Grecian Hero inſtantly attacked the Indian detachment, and the ſon of Porus was left dead upon the field, and a part of his troops and chariots taken. A general action ſoon followed, and Cænus with a detachment of the Macedonian troops appearing in the rear of the Indian army, it was under the neceſſity of changing its order of battle. In this diſtreſſing moment, Alexander made a ſucceſsful attack with his cavalry on the diviſion oppoſed to him, and it was puſhed back upon the elephants, who became very unruly and increaſed the confuſion. The whole of the Macedonian cavalry being afterwards

ανδρον τρωθηναι παρ'αυτω, κ᾽ τον ἱππον αυτω αποθανειν τον Βυκεφαλαν, φιλτατον Αλεξανδρω ονται τον ἱππων, κ᾽ τυτον τρωθεντα ὑπο τω παιδ@ τω Πωρω." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367.) The Baron de St. Croix's expreſſion is "Que Juſtin a pris pour guides," but I do not find it authorized by the text of Juſtin. "Nec Alexander pugnæ moram fecit: ſed primâ congreſſione vulnerato equo, cum præceps in terram decidiſſet, concurſu Satellitum ſervatus. Porus multis vulneribus obrutus capitur," (Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 37.–322, 323.) is the brief deſcription of this deciſive action.

y "Πτολεμαι@ ὁ Λαγω, ὁτω κ᾽ ξυμφερομαι, αλλως λεγει· εκπεμφθηναι μεν γαρ κ᾽ τον παιδα ὑπο τω Πωρω, αλλ'ηκ ἑξηκοντα μονα ἁρματα αβονλα———αλλα δισχιλιως γαρ λεγει ἱππεας αγοντα αφικεσθαι τον Πωρω παιδα, ἁρματα δε ἑκατον κ᾽ εικοσι· φθαζαι δε περαζαντα Αλεξανδρον κ᾽ τον εκ της νησω τον τελευταιον πορον." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 14.--367, 368.

wards thrown into a body, and hemming in the enemy, the phalanx was directed to form very closely and attack them, by which great numbers of them were slain. Craterus also, who had been left on the opposite banks of the Hydaspes to deceive Porus and divide his attention, crossed the river during the engagement, and completed the rout. The vanquished Monarch lost two of his sons in the action, near twenty thousand of his infantry, three thousand of his cavalry, and all his chariots and elephants. Arrian from whom these circumstances[z] are borrowed, reduces the Macedonian loss to two hundred and thirty of the cavalry, and eighty of the infantry, but Diodorus Siculus differs with him. The latter writer reckons the Indians to have left twelve thousand men on the field of battle, and to have had nine thousand made prisoners. The victory, however, according to his statement, cost Alexander two hundred and eighty of his cavalry and above seven hundred of his infantry,[a] which certainly appears more probable

[z] On a review of these circumstances, which the Baron de St Croix had extracted from Arrian, I felt the obligation of new moulding the whole. They now stand nearly as Arrian relates them, but the first confusion was not the consequence of "Le desordre que les elephants causoient dans le rangs." "Ὁι περι Κοινον, ὡς παρηγγελτο, κατοπιν αυτοις επεφαινοντο· Ταυτα ξυνιδοντες οἱ Ινδοι, αμφιζομον ηναγκασθησαν ποιησαι την ταξην της ἱππυ——τυτο τε ην ευθυς εταραξε τας ταξεις τε κ᾽ τας γνωμας των Ινδων." "Alexandre rassembla sa cavalerie" is directly contradicted by the "Και εν τυτω πασα ἡ ἱππ☉. Αλεξανδρω ες μιαν ιλην ηδη ξυνηγμενη, ηκ εκ παραγγελματ☉, αλλα εν τω αγωνι αυτω ες τηνδε την ταξιν καταστασα·" and the "Ce prince perdit dans cette bataille——deux mille hommes de pied," is an unpardonable translation of the "Απεθανον δε των Ινδων περζοι μεν ολιγον αποδεοντες των δυσμυριων·"

Arrian. Exped. Alex, Lib. 5. C. 17, 18.--372——375.

[a] "Επεσον δ'εν τη μαχη των Ινδων πλειυς των μυριων κ᾽ δισχιλιων, εν οἱς ὑπηρχον κ᾽ δυο υἱοι τυ Πωρυ, κ᾽ οἱ στρατηγοι, κ᾽ οἱ επιφανεστατοι των ἡγεμονων· ζωντες δε ανδρες ἑαλωσαν ὑπερ εννακισχιλιυς·——των δε Μακεδονων επεσον μεν ἱππεις διακοσιοι κ᾽ ογδοηκοντα, πεζοι δε πλειυς των ἑπτακοσιων·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--229.

than Arrian's account, though his deſcription of the engagement merits great encomiums. That of Diodorus Siculus is marked with ſtrong features of uncommon negligence, and even the paſſage of the Hydaſpes, which was of ſo much conſequence, is totally omitted.

The confuſion of Q. Curtius, with his contradictions and abſurdities, might afford materials for a long digreſſion, but a few examples will be ſufficient. "When you ſee me, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas and Hephæſtion, charge the enemy's left wing, and ſhall obſerve us to be in the heat of action, put the right wing in motion and charge the enemy,[b] &c. &c."—To attack the left wing of the enemy it was neceſſary for Alexander to have been at the head of his right wing, and Cœnus then could not have poſſibly commanded it. Yet a few lines afterwards, Q. Curtius tells us, that the Macedonian Prince having commenced the action agreeable to this diſpoſition, Cœnus attacked with impetuoſity the enemy's left wing.[c]

The extraordinary ſtature of King Porus, he tells us alſo, was apparently

[b] "Quum ego, inquit, Ptolemæo Perdiccâque et Hephæſtione comitatus in lævum hoſtium cornu impetum fecero, videriſque me in medio ardore certaminis; ipſe dextrum move et turbatis ſigna infer." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--661, 662.) The commentators have laboured to rectify this paſſage, but without effect.

[c] "Jamque; ut deſtinatum erat, invaſerat ordines hoſtium; quum Cœnus ingenti vi in lævum cornu invehitur." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--663.

apparently augmented by the ſize of his Elephant,[d] which is an offence againſt the common rules of Perſpective. Porus received nine wounds in the action, from which he loſt a vaſt quantity of blood, and was ſo much weakened, that he had not ſtrength to throw a dart, but it fell uſeleſs from his hands.[e] We are afterwards informed, that a brother of Taxiles was ſent by Alexander to prevail on the Indian Monarch to lay down his arms. At the voice of this temporizing Prince, in a paroxyſm of rage, he ſeized the only remaining arrow in his quiver, and diſcharged it with ſuch violence, that it ſtretched the indiſcreet negotiator on the ground.[f] It might have been reaſonably imagined that this exertion would have entirely exhauſted him, but notwithſtanding his extreme debility, he reſumes his flight with greater expedition, and was ſtopped only by the wounds of his elephant.[g]

Arrian's account is not filled with ſuch glaring contradictions, nor manifeſt abſurdities. Porus receives a wound in his right

 ſhoulder,

d "Magnitudine Pori adjicere videbatur belua, quâ vehebatur, tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanto aliis ipſe præſtabat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--660, 661.

e "Novem jam vulnera hinc tergo, illinc pectore exceperat, multoque ſanguine profuſo languidis manibus magis elapſa, quum excuſſa tela mittebat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2. --665.

f "At ille quamquam exhauſtæ erant vires, deficiebatque ſanguis; tamen ad notam vocem excitatus: agnoſco, inquit, Taxilis fratrem imperii regnique ſui proditoris: et telum, quod unum forte non effluxerat, contorſit in eum, quod per medium pectus penetravit ad tergum." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

g "Hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito fugere acrius cæpit. ſed elephantus quoque, qui multa exceperat tela, deficiebat, itaque ſiſtit fugam." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 14. Tom. 2.--665.

ſhoulder, the only vulnerable part of his body, which was every where elſe covered by his excellent armour, and unable to continue the engagement in perſon, he found it neceſſary to quit the field.——Taxiles is ſent afterwards to him, and at the ſight of his ancient enemy, Porus attacks him with a dart, from which he eſcapes only by flight. A ſecond negotiation is then opened under the management of Meroes, and Porus is prevailed upon to accept the terms, which Meroes was authorized by the Macedonian Monarch to offer him. [h]

This celebrated action bears date, according to Arrian, [i] in the month Munychion, during the magiſtracy of Hegemon, who was the Athenian Archon, in the ſecond year of the 118th Olympiad, 327 years before Chriſt. Diodorus Siculus [k] refers it to the magiſtracy of Chremes, the ſucceſſor of Hegemon, but Arrian's computation is confirmed by the authority of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, [l] which is both preferable to that of Diodorus Siculus, and is alſo demonſtrated to have been correct by Corſini in his Attic annals. [m]

Every

[h] Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 18.--377.

[i] "Τετο το τελ@ τη μαχη τη προς τον Πωρον'——επ'αρχοντ@ Αθηναιοις Ηγεμον@, μην@ Μυνιχιων@." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 19.--379.

[k] "Επ'αρχοντ@ δ'Αθηνησι Χρεμητ@.——Αλεξανδρ@ εν τη Ταξιλω χωρα προσαναλαβων την δυναμιν, εστρατευσεν επι Πωρον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--228.

[l] Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus adds nothing to Arrian's authority, for he barely mentions Hegemon amongſt the other Athenian Archons. De Dinar. Judicium. Tom. 5.--649.

[m] Corſini. Att. Annal. Tom. 4.--47, 48.

Every thing ſtooped to Alexander after this victory, and he paſſed the Hyphaſis full of ardour and of expectation, with the reſolution of penetrating to the Ganges and of bounding his conqueſts only with the Univerſe. But the murmurs of his army ſtopped him in the midſt of his mighty projects, and ſhortened his vaſt career. Plutarch hath acknowledged to us the real cauſes of the diſſatisfaction of the Macedonian ſoldiers,* on whoſe ſpirits victory had only a momentary influence. The valour of Porus and the obſtinate reſiſtance of his troops were what they had neither foreſeen, nor been prepared for, and new difficulties and dangers threatened them at every ſtep that they advanced. On the banks of the Ganges they were aware of the formidable

* Both Philoſtratus (De Vit. Apoll. Lib. 2. C. 33.--86.) and Strabo (Lib. 15.--1025.) have ſuppoſed that ſome oracular denunciations ſtopped the Macedonian Monarch on the banks of the Hyphaſis, but mere political reaſons appear to have regulated his movements. "Τους μεν τοι Μακεδονας ὁ πορος Πωρον αγων αμβλυτερους εποιησεν, καὶ το προσω της Ινδικης ετι προσελθειν επεσχεν· μολις γαρ εκεινον ωσαμενοι, δισμυριοις πεζοις, καὶ δισχιλιοις ἱππευσι παραταξαμενον, αντεσησαν ισχυρως Αλεξανδρω βιαζομενω καὶ τον Γαγγην περασαι ποταμον, ευρος μεν αυτω, δυο καὶ τριακοντα σταδιων ειναι πυνθανομενοι, καὶ βαθος ὀργυιας ἑκαιδεκα· αντιπεραν δε τας οχθας αποκεκρυφθαι, πληθεσιν ὁπλων καὶ ἱππων καὶ ελεφαντων· ελεγοντο γαρ οκτω μεν μυριαδας ἱππεων, εικοσι δε πεζων, ἁρματα δε οκτακισχιλια, καὶ μαχιμους ελεφαντας ἑξακισχιλιους εχοντες οἱ Γανδαριδων καὶ Πραισιων βασιλεις ὑπομενειν· καὶ κομπος ουκ ην περι ταυτα." (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--699.) Diodorus Siculus differs as to the power of the Gandarides, but imputes Alexander's retreat to the ſame prudential motives. "Καταντησας γαρ επι τον Γαγγην ποταμον μετα πασης της δυναμεως, καὶ τους αλλους Ινδους καταπολεμησας, ὡς επυθετο τους Γανδαριδας εχειν τετρακισχιλιους ελεφαντας πολεμικως κεκοσμημενους, απεγνω την επ'αυτους στρατειαν." (Lib. 2. Tom. 1.--150.) And he declares afterwards that "Των Μακεδονων ὁλομως συγκαταθεμενων, απεστη της επιβολης." (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--233.) Arrian alſo with great candour ſtates the mutiny. "Οἱ δε Μακεδονες εξεκαμνον ηδη ταις γνωμαις, πονους τε εκ πονων καὶ κινδυνους εκ κινδυνων επαναιρουμενον ὁρωντες τον βασιλεα· ξυλλογοι τε εγιγνοντο κατα το στρατοπεδον, των μεν τα σφετερα οδυρομενων, ὁσοι επιτηδειοι· των δε ουκ ακολουθησειν, κ-ην αγη Αλεξανδρος, επισχυριζομενων." Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. C. 25.--393.

formidable powers, the Gangarides and Praſians, and the proſpect before their eyes was filled with numerous and repeated engagements, in which there was every probability that the Grecian bravery muſt at laſt ſink, overpowered by continual exertions againſt ſuch hoſts of enemies.

'The banks of the Hyphaſis were then the barrier, which Alexander could not paſs. The followers of the Macedonian Monarch have indeed extended his military operations, and Craterus informed his mother Ariſtopatra, by letter, [o] that the Conqueror of the Eaſt had made his way to the Ganges. This letter was publiſhed, and, in all likelihood, gave ſome foundation for the error, [p] but

o "Εκδεδοΐαι δε τις ϗ Κραίερω προς την μητερα Αριστοπατραν επιστολη, πολλα τε αλλα παραδοξα φραζουσα, ϗ ωκ ὁμολογουζαι ωδενι· ϗ δη ϗ το μεχρι το Γαγγη προελθειν τον Αλεξανδρον." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1027.

p "Και Αλεξανδρ@. ὁρμηθεις απο των μερων τυτων αχρι τυ Γαγγυ διηλθε." Arrian. Perip. Maris Eryth. 169. 8vo Amſt. 1683.

"———Macêtum fines, latebraſque ſuorum
Deſeruit, victaſque patri deſpexit Athenas.
Perque Aſiæ populos fatis urgentibus actus,
Humanâ cum ſtrage ruit, gladiumque per omnes
Exegit gentes: ignotos miſcuit amnes,
Perſarum Euphraten, Indorum ſanguine Gangen."

Lucan. Phars. Lib. 10.--28——33.

See alſo Syncellus. 210.—Zonares. Lib. 4.--144. Philoſtratus pointedly denies the pretended fact: "Την δε χωραν ταυτην ωδε επηλθεν ὁ Αλεξανδρ@." (De Vit. Apoll. Lib. 2. C. 33.--86. Folio. Lips. 1709.) and though Diodorus Siculus ſtates in the 2nd Book (Tom. 1.--150.) that Alexander reached the Ganges, in the 17th Book, he ſtops at the Hyphanis, (or Hyphaſis, See Salmaſii. Plin. Exercit. 55.) "Επι τον Υπανιν ωοταμον ωροηλθεν." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--332.) Whether the Greek hiſtorian afterwards diſcovered his miſtake, or had forgotten the firſt part of his Work, I leave to be determined.

but the reſt of the occurrences, that it mentioned, were equally fictitious.——Juſtin relates that Alexander reduced the Aceſtes, the Praſides and Gangarides, and that he carried his victorious arms into the country of the Cuphites. Many other people are alſo taken notice of, whoſe names are as little known as that of the Cuphites, but this may be perhaps attributed to the corruption of the text. Neither Paulus Oroſius nor any of the manuſcripts have hitherto afforded any ſatisfactory information reſpecting the names of various towns and nations, which are ſo generally and ſo much disfigured in Juſtin. Little ſuſpicion is to be apprehended of any alteration in Plutarch's expreſſions, and if they carry the conſtruction, that the kingdom of Porus was the laſt of Alexander's conqueſts, the obſcurity may be naturally deduced from the confuſion of this writer, who hath not been ſufficiently attentive to the relation of events, and hath frequently inverted the order of the facts, that he mentions.[q]

The Itinerary of Bæton and of Diognetus,[r] and even the letters of Alexander, as well as all the hiſtorians of his life and actions, have

[q] Plutarch. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--699.

[r] "Diognetus et Bæton itinerum ejus menſores ſcripſere————ad Hypaſin,——qui fuit Alexandri itinerum terminus, exſuperato tamen amne, ariſque in adverſâ ripâ dicatis. Epiſtolæ quoque regis ipſius conſentiunt his. (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. Tom. 1.--683, 684.) Philoſtratus hath preſerved the votive inſcriptions. "ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ, ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ, ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ." (De Vit. Appol. Lib. 2. C. 43.--94.) A brazen column was ſaid alſo to have been raiſed, on which "ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ," was engraven.

have deſcribed the Altars erected by his order on the Eaſtern ſhore of the Hyphaſis,[s] which were twelve in number and rivalled the loftieſt towers in height and elevation. Theſe immenſe maſſes of ſtone were intended to perpetuate to future ages the memory of his conqueſts, and were conſidered at the ſame time as a grateful and acceptable offering to the Gods. Yet monuments, erected by hands ſtained with the blood of every Aſiatic nation, were certainly very queſtionable methods of imploring the favourable regard of Heaven, and from the inſatiable vanity of the Conqueror of the Eaſt more probably the real though concealed motives of the ſtructures are to be deduced.—The various towns and cities which Alexander founded in the different countries, that he paſſed through, are to be conſidered in the ſame point of view, and as trophies[t] of his victories. Plutarch[w] reckons them to have exceeded ſeven-

ty,

[s] The modern Settledge or Suttaluz.

[t] Pauſanias advances "*Ου γαρ τι Μακεδοσιν ἱσαναι τροπαια την νενομισμενον*" and he produces Alexander as an inſtance: "*Μαρτυρει δε τω λογω ϗ Αλεξανδρ@-, ὡκ αναστησας ετε επι Δαρειω τροπαια, ὡδε επι ταις Ινδικαις νικαις.*" (Lib. 9. C. 40.--794, 795.) But Q. Curtius (Lib. 3. C 12. Tom. 1.--143.) mentions three altars erected by the Macedonian Monarch after the battle of Iſſus, of which there were ſome remains in Cicero's time; (Epiſt. Famil. Lib. 15. Tom. 7.--526.) and Herodian more deciſively ſpeaks of a city built by the Macedonian Monarch in memory of the battle of Iſſus: "*Μενει δε ετι νυν τροπαιον, ϗ δειγμα της νικης εκεινης πολις επι τω λοφω* &c." (Lib. 3.--63. Ed. Steph. 4to 1584.) Pocock ſuſpects a ruin that he ſaw to have been the foundation of the altars erected near Pinarus, and the remains of a thick wall on the ſouthern hills to have been part of this city of Nicopolis, built in honour of Alexander's victory over Darius. Pocock's Travels. Vol. 2. --176, 177.

[w] "*Αλεξανδρ@- δε ὑπερ ἑβδομηκοντα πολεις βαρβαροις εθνεσιν ἑπτισας, ϗ κατασπειρας την Ασιαν Ελληνικοις τιλεσι της ανημερω ϗ θηριωδους εκρατησε διαιτης*" (Plut. De Fort vel Virt. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 2.--328.

ty, and he aſſures us that under Alexander's reign the wilds of Aſia were peopled by Grecian colonies, who diſſeminated inſtruction amongſt the natives, and reclaimed them from their rude and ſavage ſtate of life. Diodorus Siculus even pretends that the Conqueror built, near Paropamiſus, ſeveral towns which were only a ſingle day's journey from each [x] other.

Bucephalia [y] owed its name to the Conqueror's celebrated horſe Bucephalus, who died in its environs, and Sotion, according to Plutarch, relates his having heard from Potamon the Leſbian, that the Macedonian Monarch directed a town alſo to be built in honour of his favourite dog Perites. [z] Stephanus Byzantinus [a] ſpeaks of eighteen different cities under the name of Alexandria, one of which was ſituated in the iſland of Cyprus, and the author of the chronicle [b] of Alexandria places another in the Pentapolis of Africa, which the Conqueror of the Eaſt had never viſited.

This is apparently deciſive evidence of the exiſtence of theſe cities, but their foundation is not to be attributed to the Macedo-

 nian

x "Ὁ δε Αλεξανδρος και αλλας πολεις εκτισεν, ἡμερας ὁδον απεχουσας της Αλεξανδρειας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--224.

y Suppoſed to be the modern Lahore.

z "Και πολιν οικισας επ' αυτω παρα τον Ὑδασπην Βουκεφαλιαν προσηγορευσεν· λεγεται δε και κυνα Περιτην ονομα τεθραμμενον ὑπ' αυτου, και τεθνηκοτα αποβαλων κτισαι πολιν επωνυμον· τουτο δε Σοτιων φησιν Ποταμωνος ακουσαι του Λεσβιου." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--699.

a Stephan. Byzantinus. Αλεξανδρεια·

b Chronic. Alex. Ed. Raderi. 398.

nian Monarch without deliberate examination. Alexander's rapid march, or more correctly ſpeaking, his military journey, would barely have allowed him time to think of ſuch numerous eſtabliſhments, and his army could not poſſibly have ſupplied him with a ſufficiency of inhabitants for theſe infant colonies. The rooted attachment in the Grecian boſom for its native ſoil was likewiſe well known to have kept a long and laſting hold upon it, and the choſen band which had ranged itſelf under the banners of the Younger Cyrus preferred a return to their own country at the riſk of a thouſand perils, to all the advantages, that were offered them by a great and grateful Monarch. Xenophon, their leader, made every effort, but in vain, to induce them to ſettle in Aſia, where an eaſy conqueſt would have fixed them in a ſituation, that muſt ſoon have rendered the eſtabliſhment the moſt flouriſhing and richeſt on the Euxine ſea. The ſoldiers of ſuch a nation would not willingly have renounced the happineſs of reviſiting their country, where the united voices of their families recalled them, and have given up the conſolation of expiring amidſt the embraces of their relations and their friends, which formed in their opinions the laſt, though not leaſt precious, of earthly bleſſings.[c] With theſe

[c] Death, in a ſtrange country, and at a diſtance from every endearing connection, was reckoned by the ancients to be peculiarly diſtreſſing, and the thoughts of it ſharpened the pangs of ſeparation and of exile. The mournful office of cloſing the eyes of their expiring parents, or children, was a duty of religious importance, and wherever it could not be performed, it was feelingly lamented. Penelope offers up a prayer for it.

"Di precor hoc jubeant, ut cuntibus ordine Fatis,
Ille meos oculos comprimat, ille tuos."

Ovid. Heroïd. Epiſt. 1.--101, Tom. 1.--13. 4to Amſt. 1727.

And

theſe ſentiments a voluntary exile in the middle of Aſia could not have been expected from them, which at the ſame time expoſed them to inveterate enemies, who were jealous of their proſperity, and conſidered them both as uſurpers of their territories, and their future Tyrants. The improvement of the colony in this precarious ſituation could have been little attended to, and in a ſtate of continual apprehenſions or hoſtilities, where the whole force was requiſite for its defence, few hands could have been ſpared for the cultivation of the ground or the labours of Agriculture.

Commerce ſometimes infuſes a portion of life and vigour into new eſtabliſhments, but it depends on the eaſy and ſecure conveyance of merchandiſe, and a proper medium of barter and exchange. Mutual wants will likewiſe often form an intercourſe between diſtant nations, but if the inhabitants of the cities, ima-

And afterwards makes uſe of the argument to haſten the return of Ulyſſes to Ithaca.

"Reſpice Laerten: ut jam ſua lumina condas."

Ovid. Heroïd. Epiſt. 1.--113.

Polyxena alſo offers the ſame ſoothing idea to Hecuba in an agony of grief.

"——Και θανατοις ομμα συγκλεισει το σον"

Euripidis Hecuba. 430. Tom. 1.--21. 4to Lipſ. 1778.

In their laſt moments therefore the "Συντροφον ομμα" (Sophoclis Philoctetes. 173. Tom. 2. --367. 4to Paris. 1781.) of their family and friends, an expreſſion that ſets tranſlation at defiance, afforded them the moſt cheering ſatisfaction. Gray hath alluded to the wiſh for it in the Church-yard Elegy: Pope hath bewailed the want of it.

"No friend's complaint, no kind domeſtic tear,
Pleas'd thy pale ghoſt, or grac'd thy mournful bier.
By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,
By foreign hands thy decent limbs compos'd."

Elegy to an Unfortunate Lady. 49.

gined to have been founded by the Conqueror, were only furniſhed with the common productions of the country from their own ſettlements, they were not likely to be poſſeſſed of many articles of traffic, that could have been an object to their neighbours, and as to their own country, every hope of a ſafe and regular communication between Greece and the Paropamiſus or the banks of the Iaxartes was totally cut off. The number therefore of thoſe towns in all probability ought to be reduced, and many of them, whoſe foundation is not to be doubted, muſt be looked on as Trophies, which were ſoon demoliſhed by the neighbouring nations, or abandoned by their own inhabitants.[d] Some, from their advantageous poſition, were afterwards rebuilt, and their ancient names on their new creation were revived out of reſpect for the memory of the Conqueror of Aſia. Thoſe, which Abulpharagius mentions, ought certainly to be ranked in this claſs, and the ſuppoſition is not perhaps an imaginary one, that the ſucceſſors of Alexander from vanity

[d] "Græci milites nuper in colonias a rege deducti Garabactrâ, orta inter ipſos ſeditione, defecerant; non tam Alexandro infenſi, quam metu ſupplicii. Quippe occiſis quibuſdam popularium, qui validiores erant, arma ſpectare cœperunt; et Bactrianâ arce, quæ quaſi negligentius adſervata erat, occupata, barbaros quoque in ſocietatem defectionis impulerant. Athenodorus erat princeps eorum, qui regis quoque nomen adſumpſerat; non tam imperii cupidine, quam in patriam revertendi cum iis, qui auctoritatem ipſius ſequebantur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 7. Tom. 2.—714, 715.) Dr. Robertſon (Notes on the Hiſt. Diſquiſition concerning India. 193.) hath very ably combated this opinion of the Baron de St. Croix. Yet Cœnus in his ſpeech, which may be found in Arrian at length, lets us without reſerve into the Grecian ſentiments. "Των δε αλλων Ελληνων, οἱ μεν εν ταις πολεσι ταις προς σε οικισθεισαις κατωκισμενοι, σὺ δ' ὑτοι παντη ἑκοντες μενουσιν——————καὶ τουτοις ξυμπασι πολλῶ μεν γονεων εστιν, ὁσοις ἐι σωζονται, πολλῶ δε γυναικων καὶ παιδων, πολλῶ δε δη της γης αὐλοις της οικειας" (Arrian. Lib. 5. C. 27. 399, 400.) I ſincerely reſpect and admire Dr. Robertſon's great learning and uncommon talents, and I feel with reluctance the force of Arrian's expreſſions.

vanity or gratitude diſtinguiſhed many of their own foundation with his name.[e]

Man generally communicates his partialities and prejudices to the ſociety of which he is a member. The idea of an illuſtrious origin hath flattered the ambition of individuals, cities, and nations, and they have repeatedly ranſacked the annals of the world to demonſtrate their antiquity, and carry back their hiſtory to a time, in which every thing was loſt in one common and general obſcurity. Many towns from theſe motives have choſen Alexander for their founder, and Smyrna, having no pretenſions to that diſtinction hath contented itſelf with the honour of being reſtored by Alexander,[f] though its title to it, is not confirmed by any cotemporary writer.

But it may be proper to attend to the progreſs of the Macedonian army, which embarked on veſſels conſtructed or collected on the banks of the Hyphaſis, and afterwards dropped down this river to the Indus.[g] Q. Curtius and Diodorus Siculus have equally deceived themſelves in ſuppoſing the Macedonian fleet to have been

[e] See Appian. De Bello Syriac. 201.

[f] Pauſanias however ſtyles Alexander "Τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστῆς" (Lib. 7.–533.) but Ariſtides ridicules the fable. "Μὴ γάρ μοι Λυσιμαχον ἔτι, μηδὲ Αλεξανδρον αὐλον, μηδὲ Θησεα ϗ μυθυς· αλλ'ὑμεις οἰκισαι της πολεως γενεσθε·" Orat. Tom. 1.–513. 4to Oxon. 1722.

[g] "Inde Alexander ad amnem Aceſinem pergit: per hanc in oceanum devehitur." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 9.–327.

been built on the ſhore of the Aceſines,[h] and Alexander to have returned by a retrogade[i] march, as uſeleſs, as contradictory to every other writer. A war followed between the Macedonians and the Malli, and in the attack of one of their towns the Grecian Hero was perſonally expoſed to the fury of an enraged enemy, and the Conqueror of the Eaſt was in imminent danger of periſhing like a common and ordinary adventurer.[k]

Alexander having reached the mouth of the Indus, directed his march towards Gedroſia, without leaving the ſea at any great diſtance,

h "The modern Ienaub.

i "Μετα πασης της δυναμεως ταις αυταις ὁδοις πορευθεις ανεκαμψεν επι τον Ακεσινην ποταμον· καταλαβων δε τα σκαφα νεναυπηγημενα, κ᾽ ταυτα καταξισας, ἑτερα προσεναυπηγησατο." (Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--234.) "Repetens quæ emenſus erat, ad flumen Aceſinem locat caſtra———jam in aquâ claſſis, quam ædificari juſſerat, ſtabat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 9. C. 3. Tom. 2.--688, 689.

k Plutarch, (Tom. 1.--700.) Arrian, (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 9, 10.--423---428.) Diodorus Siculus, (Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--236, 237.) and Q. Curtius (Lib. 9. C. 4, 5. Tom. 2.--700——704.) have given a diffuſive detail of this wonderful inſtance of Alexander's temerity, and ſtill more wonderful eſcape. Juſtin (Lib. 12. C. 9.--328, 329.) hath compreſſed it into a narrower compaſs, but the two Latin hiſtorians have varied the ſcene of this ſingular mixture of raſhneſs and courage. Q. Curtius relates it on the attack of the capital of the Oxydracians, and Lucian, (Dialog. Mort. 14. Sect. 5. Tom. 1.--397.) Appian, (De Bell. Civil. Lib. 2. Tom. 2.--852.) Stephanus Byzantinus, (Οξυδρακοι) and Pauſanias (Lib. 1.--15.) agree with him. It is poſſible the Malli might inhabit a part of Oxydrachia, and the expreſſion of "Τους ονομαζομενους Μαλλους" may perhaps give ſome little plauſibility to the conjecture, which will then reconcile the different writers, Juſtin excepted. Alexander is ſuppoſed, by this Latin author, to have hurried himſelf into this dangerous combat at the city of the Ambri and Sugambri, but Oroſius, who copied Juſtin, hath boldly transformed theſe people into the Malli and Oxydrachians. The Ambri and Sugambri have hitherto retained with inflexible obſtinacy their ſtation in the text of Juſtin, but the commentators have allowed the reading to be ſpurious.——Major Rennel hath marked, near the banks of the Hydraotes or Rauvee of our times, the probable ſituation of this city.

tance, and paſſed through a country of great extent, which was both barren, uncultivated, and deſtitute of water. Diodorus Siculus after this account of the deſerts, which the Macedonian army traverſed, adds, that Alexander ſeparated his army into three diviſions, and gave orders for the country to be ravaged, which was inſtantly executed, and the troops returned from the general pillage loaden with plunder and beſmeared with the blood of millions of the inhabitants, that they had maſſacred.[l] The reſt of the hiſtorians are ſilent on this ſhameful ſubject.

The Bacchanalian march, however, of the Macedonian army through Carmania hath been admitted without heſitation by many of them,[m] and Arrian hath alone rejected this ſcene of riot and intemperance,

[l] "Diodore apres avoir parle de la pauvreté des Gedroſiens, et des deſerts que traverſerent les troupes Macedonienes, ne craint pas d'avancer qu'Alexandre ayant diviſée ſon armée en trois corps ordonna aux commandants de ces diviſions de ravager ce pays." I have deviated eſſentially from the French ſentence for the purpoſe of reſcuing Diodorus Siculus from at leaſt this charge of inconſiſtency, with which he hath been reproached. It was after the Macedonian army had traverſed theſe extenſive deſerts that the pillage was made on the borders of the Oritæ, according to the Text of Diodorus Siculus, and the term "Ce pays" is not authorized. "Και τες Κεδρωσιαν οικουντας χωρις κινδυνων ῥαιως ηγαγετο. Μετα δε ταυτα, ῥολλην μεν ανυδρον, εκ ολιγην δε ερημον διελθων, επι τα Ωριτιδ῾ ὁρια κατηντησεν· εις τρια δε μερη την δυναμιν διελομεν῾————εγεμε ῥας τοπ῾ πυρ῾ κ᾽ διαρπαγης κ᾽ ῥολλων φονων————οἱ μεν ςρατιωται ῥολλης λειας εκυριευσαν, των δε αναιρεθεντων σωματων αριθμ῾ εγενετο ῥολλων μυριαδων." Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--242.

[m] "Αυτον μεν ὠν ἱπποι σχεδην εκομιζον οκτω μετα των ἑταιρων ὑπερ θυμελης εν ὑψηλω κ᾽ περιφανει· ῥολαισιω ῥεπηγυιας, ευωχημενον συνεχως ἡμερας κ᾽ νυκτ῾· ἁμαξαι δε ῥαμπληθεις, αἱ μεν ἁλυργοις κ᾽ ῥοικιλοις ῥιβολαιοις, αἱ δε ὑλης αει ῥροσφατυ κ᾽ χλωρας οκιαζομεναι κλαδοις, ἑιποντο, τυς αλλυς αγυσαι φιλυς κ᾽ ἡγεμονας ςεφανωμενυς, κ᾽ ῥινοντας· ειδης δ᾽αν υ ῥελτην, υ κρατ῾, υ σαρισσαν, αλλα φιαλαις κ᾽ ςυτοις, κ᾽ θηρικλειοις ῥαρα την ὁδον ἁπασαν οἱ ςρατιωται βαπτιζοντες, εκ ῥιθων μεγαλων κ᾽ κρατηρων

αλληλοις

intemperance, as both improbable and abſurd. [n] Neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus nor any of the cotemporary writers have mentioned it, and there ſeem to have exiſted ſome phyſical and ſubſtantial reaſons, which lead us to doubt of its reality.—It is not probable that the Macedonian forces, after the exceſſive fatigues of their long and laborious march to Gedroſia, in which they had ſuffered the extremities of hunger and thirſt, and had been reduced ſo very conſiderably by ſickneſs, [o] ſhould have plunged at once into an

αλληλοις προεπινον, οἱ μεν, εν τω προαγειν ἁμα κ᾽ βαδιζειν, οἱ δε κατακειμενοι· πολλη δε Μεσα συριγγων κ᾽ αυλων, ωδης τε κ᾽ ψαλμε κ᾽ βακχειας γυναικων, κατειχε παντα τοπον." (De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--702.) "Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coroniſque ſterni jubet: liminibus ædium crateras vino repletos, et alia eximiæ magnitudinis vaſa diſponi: vehicula deinde conſtrata, ut plures capere milites poſſent, in tabernaculorum modum ornari, alia candidis velis, alia veſte pretioſa. Primi ibunt amici et cohors regia, variis redimita floribus coroniſque, alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyræ ſonus audiebatur: item in vehiculis pro copiâ cujuſque adornatis comeſſabundus exercitus, armis quæ maxime decora erant circumpendentibus. Ipſum convivaſque currus vehebat, crateris aureis ejuſdemque materiæ ingentibus poculis prægravis. Hoc modo per dies ſeptem bacchabundum agmen inceſſit; parta præda, ſi quid victis ſaltem adverſus commeſſantes animi fuiſſet: mille hercule, viri modo et ſobrii, ſeptem dierum crapula graves in ſuo triumpho capere potuerunt." (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.--742, 743.) The reflection that follows is certainly an appoſite one. "Et præſens Ætas et Poſteritas mirata eſt, per gentes nondum ſatis domitas inceſſiſſe temulentos, barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam eſſe credentibus." Whether it may not impeach the credit of the relation may be a queſtion.

[n] "Ταυτα δε ητε Πτολεμαιος ὁ Λαγε, ητε Αριστοβυλος ὁ Αριστοβυλε ανεγραψαν, ωδε τις αλλος ὁντινα ἱκανον αν τις ποιησαιτο τεκμηριωσαι ὑπερ των τοιωνδε· κ᾽ μοι ὡς ε πισα αναγεγραφθαι εξηκεσαν." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 28.--467.

[o] "Dans la Gedroſie." Theſe exceſſive fatigues, if we are to believe ſome of the Greek and Latin authors, were experienced before the army reached Gedroſia, and on that account I have varied the expreſſion. "Αυτος δε πεζη δι' Ωρειτων πορευομενος, εις ισχατην απορειαν προηχθη, κ᾽ πληθος ἀνθρωπων απωλεσεν, ὡστε της μαχιμε δυναμεως μεδε το τελαριον εκ της Ινδικης απαλλαγειν——αλλα κ᾽ νοσοι χαλεπαι, κ᾽ διαιται πονηραι, κ᾽ καυμαλα ξηρα, κ᾽ πλειστος ὁλιμος διεφθειρεν——μολις αν εν ἡμεραις

an exceſs of debauchery, and that a general of Alexander's ability could have either authorized by his example a licentiouſneſs deſtructive of military diſcipline, or even allowed of it, by a weak and impolitic connivance.[p]

Alexander returned with his army into Perſia, and there communicated to the troops his intention of diſcharging the Invalids, which occaſioned a dangerous inſurrection in the Macedonian camp. A ſtroke of authority ſtopped its progreſs, and thirteen of the principal mutineers were inſtantly ſeized and put to death. Alexander then ſhut himſelf up within his tent, excluded the Macedonians, and admitted only the Perſians to his confidence. The experiment was a hazardous one, but it ſucceeded. The Macedonians returned with tears to their duty and obedience; and the Monarch overpowered by the ſenſibility that they diſcovered on a ſenſe of their miſconduct, both pardoned the ferment, and reſtored them to his favour. Ten thouſand Veterans ſoon after-

 wards

γαις ἐξηκοντα ταυτην διελθων, ἡ της Γεδρωσιας ἀψαμενος, ευθυς εν αφθονοις ην πασιν'" (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--702.) Q. Curtius hath given a florid deſcription of the diſtreſs of the Macedonian army, which he winds up with "Itaque fame duntaxat vindicatus exercitus, tandem in Gedroſiæ fines perducitur. Omnium rerum ſola fertilis regio eſt, in quâ ſtativa habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret." Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.--740.

[p] That Alexander might have inſtituted ſome feſtival, and introduced ſome ſplendid and triumphal proceſſions is very probable: that he ſhould have marched in ſuch diſorder through an enemy's country is not to be credited. Arrian takes the ground, which Ariſtobulus had occupied before him. "Ἐκεινα ηδη Αριστοβουλω ἑπομενος ξυνγραφω, θυσαι εν Καρμανια Αλεξανδρον χαριστηρια της κατ' Ινδων νικης, ἡ ὑπερ της στρατιας ὁτι αποσωθη εκ Γαδρωσιων, ἡ αγωνα διαθεινα μουσικον τε ἡ γυμνικον." Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 28.--463.

wards ſet out for Macedonia, having firſt received their arrears of pay, a ſum to defray the expences of their route, and a talent as a voluntary preſent.[q] Diodorus Siculus relates, that the veterans were diſcharged, had their arrears of pay liquidated, and that the reſt of the army then revolted.[r] But their arrears of pay were firſt diſcharged, the Monarch's generoſity extended not only to that part of his troops but to the whole army, and the mutiny was both diſcovered and put a ſtop to, before the veterans began their march.[s]

Alexander's laſt military exploit was the reduction of the Coſſæans.—Plutarch, in general ſo partial to this Prince, here adopts a recital as falſe, as injurious, to his memory. By way of conſolation on the death of Hephæſtion, he pretends, that the Macedonian Monarch employed himſelf in hunting the Coſſæans like wild beaſts,

[q] Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--704.—Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.--491---499. Plutarch expreſsly ſtates that there were alſo ſome jealouſies of Alexander's indiſcreet partiality for the foreigners and Perſians in his ſervice. "Παντας αν εκελευον αφιεναι, κ᾽ παντας αχρηστους νομιζειν Μακεδονας, εχοντα τους νεους τουτους πουρριχισας, συν οις επιων κατακτησεται την οικουμενην." (Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--704.) And Arrian mentions ſome other offenſive circumſtances. "Πολλοις κ᾽ αλλοις αχθεσθεντες, ὁτα πολλακις ηδη ελυπει αυτους ἡ, τε εσθης ἡ Περσικη ες τουτο φερουσα κ᾽ των Επιγωνων των βαρβαρων τα Μακεδονικα ηθη· κοσμησις κ᾽ αναμαξις των αλλοφυλων ἱππεων ες τας των ἑταιρων ταξεις·" (Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 8.--492.) Callines afterwards makes a formal complaint upon the ſubject. "Ω βασιλευ, τα λυπουντα εξι Μακεδονας, ὁτι συ Περσων μεν τινας ηδη ωποιησαι σαυτω συγγενεις, κ᾽ καλουνται Περσαι συγγενεις Αλεξανδρου, κ᾽ φιλουσι σε· Μακεδονων δε ουπω τις γεγουνται ταυτης της τιμης·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 11.--501.

[r] Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--246.

[s] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 5.--485, 486.

beaſts, and in the total deſtruction of that nation, which was ſlaughtered indiſcriminately, and without any diſtinction of age[t] or ſex. Arrian and Diodorus Siculus have ſuppreſſed this ſavage expedition, and for the honour of humanity, it is to be hoped, that it was never realized.

The ſcripture repreſents the Conqueror of Darius as coming from the Weſt, and ſweeping over the ſurface of the earth with a velocity, that excluded the poſſibility of touching[w] it. Nothing indeed is more aſtoniſhing than the rapid marches of the Macedonian Monarch, and, in the words of Monteſquieu,[x] "the Empire of the world ſeemed to be rather the prize of an Olympian race, than the fruit of a great victory.[y]"

Yet it may be queſtioned, if Alexander's hiſtorians have not ſometimes lengthened his marches, and if their accounts are to be received with implicit and unlimited authority. Some obſervations on the meaſures, which were employed, may cloſe with propriety the preſent ſection; and a compariſon of the marches of Alexander with thoſe of the ten thouſand Greeks may poſſibly

[t] "Τω δε πενθους παρηγορια τω πολεμω χρωμενω, ὡς περ επι θηραν ἡ κυνηγεσιαν ανθρωπων εξηλθεν, ἡ το Κοσσαιον εθνω κατεγρεφετο, παντας ἡβηδον αποσφατ͂ων." Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--704.

[w] "Και ουκ ην ἁπτομενω της γης." Daniel. C. 8. V. 5.

[x] "Vous croyez voir l'empire de l'univers le prix de la courſe comme dans les jeux de la Grece, que le prix de la victoire." Monteſquieu. De l'Eſprit des Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1. --197, 198.

[y] Nugent's Tranſlation. Book 10. Chap. 14. Vol. 1.--212.

elucidate the ſubject. The ancients undoubtedly employed ſtadia of unequal diſtances, and many learned men[z] have laboured to aſcertain their different extent. De l'Iſle appears to have aſcertained with the greateſt ſucceſs thoſe referred to by the writers of the life of Alexander, and to have proved with accuracy their real length. The difference of longitude between Ecbatana and Aria, according to the Oriental aſtronomers, was eleven degrees and twenty minutes, which are equal to eight degrees and fifty-ſeven minutes of a great circle, allowing for the diminution of the degrees of longitude of the parallel of theſe two cities, and it varies materially from the meaſure of ten thouſand two hundred and ninety ſtadia, which amount to fourteen degrees according to the calculation of Eratoſthenes, and more than twenty on that of Ptolemy. This ſingle difference leads us to conclude, that the ſtadia employed by Alexander's engineers were much ſhorter than thoſe of the later geographers. Ariſtotle's computation of the meaſure of the earth furniſhes a convincing proof of this circumſtance, for he reckons the diſtance of ten thouſand two hundred and ninety ſtadia between Ecbatana and Aria to be equal to nine degrees and ſixteen minutes of a great circle, which only differ nineteen minutes, or three hundred and fifty ſtadia, from the calculation of the Oriental aſtronomers, and they may be eaſily allowed for the curvature of the roads.[a]

Monſieur

[z] See the Memoirs de Guill. de l'Iſle. Academie des Sciences. 1714.—Eſſai ſur les Meſures Itin. par Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 19.—Obſervations ſur les Meſures Itin. par Gibert. Acad. des Inſcriptions. Tom. 19.---And Traite des Meſures Itin. par D'Anville.

[a] Recherch. Geograph. ſur l'Etendue de l'Empire d'Alexandre, par Monſ. Buache. Acad. des Sciences. 1731.--117——121.

Monſieur d' Anville [b] hath illuſtrated the marches of the Macedonian army, and lopped off many difficulties, by fixing the ſtadium of Alexander's engineers at fifty toiſes, which has every appearance of probability. Five hundred of the Macedonian cavalry, carrying each a foot ſoldier, marched, according to Arrian, four hundred ſtadia in a night. [c] Employing the Pythian ſtadium of one hundred and twenty-five toiſes, this detachment of cavalry muſt have marched twenty leagues, which could not have been poſſible. Alluding to the ſtadium of fifty toiſes, the march is reduced at once to eight leagues, and becomes in conſequence, not only poſſible, but probable.

The Macedonians, in the purſuit of Satibarzanes, marched in two days ſix hundred ſtadia, [d] amounting to thirty leagues, on the ordinary calculation. By that computation they muſt have marched each day fifteen leagues inſtead of ſix, which the leſſer ſtadium only produces.

Alexander, in his march to Marcanda for the purpoſe of attacking Spitamenes, traverſed one thouſand five hundred ſtadia in three

[b] Traite ſur les Meaſures Itin. 84. The Fractions are omitted.

[c] The French expreſſion is "Dans une partie d'un jour et nuit entiere." Arrian ſays that Alexander began his march in the evening, and ſurpriſed the enemy at the dawn of the next day, and I have not on that account adhered ſo cloſely to the French ſentence. "Αυτος δε αμφι δειλην αγειν αρξαμενος, δρομω ηγειτο· διελθων δε της νυκτος σαδιους, ες τριακοσιους, υπο την εω προσυγχανει τοις βαρβαροις ατακτως ιουσι ες ανοπλοις." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 21.--232.

[d] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 25.--242.

three [e] days. The Pythian ſtadium makes up a diſtance of ſeventy-five leagues, which are reduced to thirty by the ſtadium of fifty toiſes. The Macedonian ſoldiers being very robuſt and accuſtomed to laborious ſervice, might in all likelihood by a forced march traverſe ten leagues each day, ſince the Roman legions in their exerciſes marched often twenty-four miles or eight leagues in a day, as we learn from Vegetius, who wrote in the decline of the Roman diſcipline. [f]

A compariſon alſo of the marches of the younger Cyrus and the ten thouſand Greeks, ſo faithfully deſcribed by Xenophon, with thoſe of the Macedonian Monarch, will again demonſtrate the practibility of thoſe immediately before us.

The troops of the younger Cyrus, in their route to Cunaxa, marched generally five paraſengs [g] before they halted, and ſometimes

[e] Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 6.--272.

[f] "Præterea et vetus conſuetudo permanſit, et divi Auguſti atque Hadriani conſtitutionibus præcavetur, ut ter in menſe, tam equites quam pedites, educantur ambulatum; hoc enim verbo, hoc exercitii genus nominant. Decem millia paſſuum armati inſtructique omnibus telis pedites, militari gradu ire, ac redire jubebantur in caſtra." Vegetius. Lib. 1. C. 27.--25. 8vo Veſal. 1670.

[g] I am under ſome embarraſſment for a term that exactly correſponds with the Σταδμος, and I know of no ſingle word in the Engliſh language, that fully meets the Greek idea. The Baron de St. Croix renders it by "Campement," becauſe the troops, where they ſtopped, generally formed a ſpecies of temporary encampment, and Q. Curtius makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion. "Nonis caſtris in regionem Arabitarum, inde totidem diebus in Gedroſiam perventum eſt." (Lib. 9. C. 10. Tom. 2.-737.) Raphelius, the editor of Arrian, obſerves "Σταδμος ab ἱστημι ſto, eſt iter unius dici, quippe

times more, particularly when they croſſed Lydia for the Meander, where they only made three halts in a march of twenty-two [h] paraſengs, reckoning ſeven paraſengs and a third, before each halt. The ſame body of troops arriving at Iconium, a city of Phrygia, marched alſo twenty paraſengs with only three [i] halts, and directing their route to the left of the Euphrates, they even marched thirty-five paraſengs with only five [k] halts.

The marches of the ten thouſand Greeks, in their retreat after the battle of Cunaxa, differ little from thoſe, which they went through, under the orders of the younger Cyrus. Sometimes they were ſhorter on account of the difficulty of the roads, but at others, they were very long, as they marched thirty paraſengs with only five halts, in the territories of the Taochians; [l] and when they croſſed the country of the Chalybians, who hung upon their rear, and continually harraſſed them, even fifty paraſengs were paſſed with only ſeven halts. [m]

Xenophon,

quippe quo confecto agmen ſubſiſtit, ut fatigata corpora quiete leventur." (Ad Σταθμὸν τρεις. Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 2.--12.) I am not ſatisfied, I confeſs, with the expreſſion that I have introduced, but I yet flatter myſelf its meaning is not widely different. Heſychius and Suidas have defined the "Σταθμὸν, στρατιωτικη καταλυσις," which is ſubſtantially the ſame.

[h] Xenophon. Exped. Cyri. Lib. 1.--9.

[i] ——————————— Lib. 1.--17.

[k] ——————————— Lib. 1.--45.

[l] ——————————— Lib. 4.--328, 329.

[m] ——————————— Lib. 4.--334.

Xenophon, according to Monsr d'Anville, alludes to a paraſeng of two thouſand two hundred and ſixty-eight [n] toiſes, which excluſive of a fraction, amount to forty-five ſtadia. The ten thouſand Greeks marched therefore before their halts, two hundred and twenty-ſix, two hundred and ſeventy-two, three hundred and ſeventeen, and even ſometimes, three hundred and ſeventy ſtadia, and conſequently their marches equalled the longeſt of the Macedonian army. There is even reaſon to believe, that the ten thouſand Greeks marched beyond many of theſe uſual halts, in a day; and the Greek term, which Xenophon makes uſe of, does not ſignify any given ſpace which the troops marched in a day, but ſimply the repoſe allotted to them after having marched a certain diſtance. Diodorus Siculus relates, that Demetrius the ſon of Antigone having received intelligence that Ptolemy had invaded the iſland of Cyprus, and made an irruption into Cilicia paſſed twenty-four of theſe uſual halts in ſix [o] days; and Arrian aſſures us, that Ptolemy in the purſuit of Beſſus reached ten of them in four days. [p] If the ten thouſand Greeks paſſed many of them in a day, we may reaſonably conclude, that their marches ſurpaſſed thoſe of Alexander, which were meaſured ſo exactly by Diognetus and Beton, the Prince's ſurveyors. Beton had particularly deſcribed them in a work, from which Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny,

[n] Traite ſur les Meſures. Itin. 95.

[o] "Διέλειπε γαρ απο Μαλλε, ἑξ ἡμερας ϛαθμυς εικοσι ϗ τεσσαρας." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19. Tom. 2.--381.

[p] "Εν ἡμεραις τεσσαρσι ϛαθμυς δεκα." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 29.--252.

Pliny,[q] borrowed very liberally.—Reflecting on the rapid marches of Ghengis Khan, and thoſe of the Patans and Marattas,[r] all the marvellous in Alexander's expeditions vaniſhes at once, and there remains no longer any plauſible pretence of attacking their poſſibility. "Our ſcepticiſm will not be ſufficient" as Fontenelle judiciouſly obſerves, "if we doubt only of theſe extraordinary facts, we ſhould doubt even if they were as extraordinary as they appear[s] to be."

[q] See Athenæus. Lib. 10. Tom. 1.--441.—And Caſaubon's Obſervations on the paſſage.

[r] In our times the motions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib's cavalry have been equally rapid. Detachments of them, when they were ſuppoſed to be at a conſiderable diſtance, have inſtantaneouſly appeared, and afterwards retreated with the ſame celerity.

[s] "Ce n'eſt pas entendre aſſez bien le Pyrrhoniſme, que de douter des faits extraordinaires, il faut aller juſqu'a douter qu'ils ſoient auſſi extraordinaires qu'ils le paroiſſent."——L'extrait du Mem. de Mr de Liſle ſur les Mes. Geograph. des Anciens. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences. 1714.

END OF THE SECOND SECTION.

SECTION. III.

AN exact knowledge of Alexander's character can only be acquired by entering minutely into both his public and private life. The diſcuſſion will aſcertain the degree of cenſure or approbation, that his diſpoſition, his virtues and his vices ſeverally merit, which will be determinate and certain, as it will be founded on the fixed and unerring rules of juſtice, the principle of all the virtues according to Ariſtotle,[a] or at leaſt including them. It is not in the power of caprice to abrogate her laws: the moſt ingenious ſophiſtry cannot obſcure them. The philoſopher is their interpreter, and there is an appeal to his impartial tribunal from the world at large, which is frequently actuated by paſſions, ſometimes influenced by its partialities, and ſometimes warped by its prejudices.

That

[a] "Και δια τυτο πολλακις κρατιςη των αρετων ειναι δοκει ἡ Δικαιοσυνη· κ᾽ ϑ᾽ ἑσπερ᾽, ϑ᾽ ἑως, ὑτω ϑαυμας᾽· κ᾽ παροιμιασαζεμενοι φαμεν

Εν δε Δικαιοσυνη συλληβδην πασ᾽αρετη ςι·"

Theognis. 147.

"Και τελειαι μαλιςα αρετη, ὁτι της τηλειας αρετης χρησις ες̃ι·" De Moribus. Lib. 5. C. 3. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 3.--77. Folio. Paris. 1654.

That intellectual and internal virtue, without which the mind hath no valuable powers, and man is incapable either of commanding or conducting himself,[b] is in fact but ſtrict and eſſential juſtice. It was thus that Plato[c] taught, when he refuted, under the borrowed name of Socrates, the ſtrange maxims of Thraſymachus, which, in defiance of the virtuous efforts of philoſophers in every age, have been unfortunately adopted by princes either vicious in themſelves, or corrupted by long and continued ſucceſs. —With the latter poſſibly Alexander is to be claſſed.—By a ſcrupulous and careful attention to the chronological order of events, we may perceive the variations in his character and conduct, and the gradual progreſs of his corruption will appear as diſtinctly marked, as the events from which it flowed. Proſperity had a fatal influence on the Macedonian Monarch's heart, and the regular and uninterrupted ſeries of his conqueſts gave birth to a crowd of vices, which were foſtered by flattery, and almoſt juſtified by the uncommon baſeneſs of his paraſites and minions.

Alexander was born almoſt immediately after Elpines became the Athenian Archon, in the firſt year of the 106th Olympiad, and

[b] "Αρ' ὐν ποτε, ω Θρασυμαχε, ψυχη τα αυτης εργα ευ απεργασεῖαι, στερομενη της οικειας αρετης; η αδυνατον; Αδυνατον." Plato. De Republicâ. Lib. 1. Platonis Opera. Tom. 2.--353. Folio. Paris. 1578.

[c] "Φημι γαρ εγω ειναι το δικαιον ὐκ αλλο τι η το τῦ κρειττονος ξυμφερον." Plato. De Republica. Lib. 1. Platonis Opera. Tom. 2.--338.

the certainty of the fact is demonstrated by the cotemporary occurrences, which Plutarch mentions. [d]

Philip did not overlook any thing necessary for his Son, and gave him an education every way suitable to his birth and station. Leonides, a relation of Olympias, whose rigid austerity of morals was remarkable and well known, directed the education of the young Prince, but Lysimachus the Acarnanian was appointed his preceptor, and he found out the method of captivating both the Father and the Son by the grossest adulation. He gave the name of Achilles to his Royal pupil, that of Peleus to Philip, and had the assurance to apply that of Phœnix to himself, [e] We may rest assured that the young Prince's mind suffered under such a tutor, and it may be reasonably presumed, that the seeds of those vices were then sown in it, which in maturer life grew up, and threw a sickly shade over the splendid actions, from which he would otherwise

d "Εγεννηθη δε ων Αλεξανδρος ἱσαμενος μηνος Εκατομβαιωνος, ὁν Μακεδονες Λωον καλουσιν, ἑκτη καθ'ἡν ἡμεραν ὁ της Εφεσιας Αρτεμιδος ενεπρησθη νεως.——————Φιλιππω δε αρτι Ποτιδαιαν ἡρηκοτι τρεις ἡκον αγγελιαι κατα τον αυτον χρονον· ἡ μεν, Ιλλυριους ἡττασθαι μαχη μεγαλη δια Παρμενιωνος· ἡ δε, Ολυμπιασιν ἱππω κελητι νενικηκεναι· τριτη δε, περι της Αλεξανδρου γενεσεως" Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--665, 666.

e If we are to believe Plutarch, he had no other merit. "Αλλο μεν ουδεν εχων αξιον, ὁτι δ'ἑαυτον μεν ονομαζειν Φοινικα, τον δε Αλεξανδρον, Αχιλλεα, Πηλεα δε, τον Φιλιππον, ηγαπατο, ᾗ δευτερον εἱχε χωραν." (De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--667.) The rays of Royal bounty have been frequently directed on worthless and improper objects; but history scarcely furnishes another instance of a Favourite, that rose into employment on such pretensions.

wiſe have derived ſuch immortal honour. Quintilian[f] unjuſtly accuſes Leonides, on the faith of Diogenes of Babylon, with the corruption of Alexander's mind; but he confounds the reſpectable Leonides with Lyſimachus, and improperly terms him the pedagogue. Leonides had conſtantly refuſed the office of preceptor, as we learn from Plutarch, whoſe expreſſion[g] may have deceived the learned Rhetorician, and occaſioned his reference of the lectures of Lyſimachus to Leonides, which undoubtedly obſtructed Ariſtotle's more virtuous ſyſtem. This great man was called by Philip to give leſſons to his Son, under the magiſtracy of Pythodotus, in the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad, and the Monarch warmly exhorted him to attend to the inſtructions of ſuch an able maſter, with the forcible admonition of avoiding, from his counſels, the errors of which he ſeriouſly repented.[h] ——Memorable words! which truth hath ſometimes forced from the lips of princes and of kings, in thoſe laſt and awful moments of exiſtence, when pride and vanity ſink into humiliation, and flattery itſelf, having no longer any hopes, is ſilent.

Alexander

[f] "Leonides Alexandri pedagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibuſdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robuſtum quoque et jam maximum regem ab illâ inſtitutione puerili ſunt proſecuta."
Quint. Inſt. Orat. Lib. 1. C. 1.--7. Ed. Geſner. 4to Gotting. 1738.

[g] Some of the editors of Plutarch read "Αυτ⊙. μεν ϑ φευγων το της Παιδαγωγιας ονομα," but the "Μεν ϑν φευγων" of the Francfort edition, Folio, 1620, appears to be the true reading.
De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--667.

[h] "Εκελευσε δ'αυτον Αριϛοτελει ϖροσεχειν, ϗ φιλοσοφειν, Ὅπως (ϵφη) μη ϖολλα τοιαυτα ϖραξης ιφ' οἱς ϵγω ϖεϖραγμϵνοις μεταμελομαι." Apothegm. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--178.

Alexander was then in his thirteenth year, and not the fifteenth, as Diogenes Laertius hath ſuppoſed, [i] who prolongs by his calculation the life of Alexander ſomewhat above two years. The Son of Philip was initiated into all the ſciences, and ran through the circle of human knowledge under Ariſtotle's care. After a reſidence of eight years [k] at the court of Macedon, which Juſtin hath reduced to five, [l] the philoſopher retiring to Athens, when Evenætus was Archon, parted with his Royal pupil to meet no more, though he ſurvived him ſome years. [m]

In all probability the young Prince, agreeable to Plutarch's opinion,

i "Επι Πυθοδοτε δ'ελθειν τρος Φιλιππον, τω δευτερω ετει της ενατης ϗ ἑκατοστης Ολυμπιαδ@, Αλεξανδρε πεντεκαιδεκα ετη ηδη γεγονοτ@." Diog. Laert. Lib. 5. Segm. 10. Tom. 1.--274. Ed. Meibomii. 4to Amſt. 1709.

k Apres avoir demeuré à la cour de Macedoine pendant dix-huit anneés." "Προς Φιλιππον ηρχετο, κατα Πυθοδοτον Αρχοντα, ϗ διετριψε χρονον οκτα ετη παρ αυτω καθηγεμων@ Αλεξανδρε." (Dion. Halicar. Epiſt. ad Amm. Tom. 6.--728.) Theſe eight years are unaccountably magnified into eighteen.

l "Exactâ pueritiâ, per quinquennium ſub Ariſtotele doctore inclyto omnium philoſophorum, crevit." (Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 16.--346.) Diogenes Laertius alſo ſuppoſes Ariſtotle to have reſided eight years at the Court of Macedon, as he came there in the ſecond year of the 109th Olympiad, and quitted it, "Εις δ'Αθηνας αφικεσθαι τω δευτερω ετει της ἑνδεκατης ϗ ἑκατοστης Ολυμπιαδ@." Diog. Laert. Lib. 5. Segm. 10. Tom. 1.--274.

m "Le philoſophe ne revit plus ſon diſciple, et lui ſurvêcut peu de tems." The Baron de St. Croix obſerves, in a note upon this paſſage, "Denys d'Halicarnaſſe———fait mourir ce philoſophe ſous l'Archonte Cephiſodore la treizieme anneé après ſa retraite de la cour de Macedoine." I truſt the "Τω δε τρισκαιδεκατω μετα την Αλεξανδρε ΤΗΛΕΥΤΗΝ, επι Κηφισοδωρε αρχοντ@, απειρας εις Χαλκιδα, νοσω τελευτα, τρια παρος ἑξηκοντα βιωσας ετη" (Dion. Hal. Epiſt. ad Amm. Tom. 6.--728.) will warrant the deviation, for which I am reſponſible.

opinion,[n] received lectures in politics and in morality from Ariſtotle, and was alſo introduced into the profound ſanctuary of the Acroatic and Epoptic[o] doctrines, where perſons were not uſually allowed to penetrate. The Greek hiſtorian produces, as a proof of his opinion, a letter[p] written by Alexander to Ariſtotle, in which he laments the publication of his Acroatic works[q] with a jealouſy, unworthy of a perſon of any genius, and more particularly a Sovereign. Can we poſſibly believe that the philoſopher ſtooped to the meanneſs of aſſuring him, that the work in queſtion would not be underſtood, except by a few adepts,[r] and that he

[n] "Εοικεν δε Αλεξανδρῳ ϑ μονον τον ηθικον ϰ̀ϑ πολιτικον παραλαβειν λογον, αλλα ϰ̀ϑ των απορρητων ϰ̀ϑ βαρυτερων διδασκαλιων, ἁς ὁι ανδρες ιδιως ακροαματικας ϰ̀ϑ εποπτικας προσαγορευοντες, ϑκ εξεφερον εις πολλϑς, μεταϭχειν." Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[o] The myſterious language of initiation, hath been extremely well explained by Salmaſius, in his notes added to the commentary of Simplicius, upon Epictetus. 14.

[p] The following is ſuppoſed to have been the laconic epiſtle.

"ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ·

Ουκ ορθως εποιησας, εκδϑς τϑς ακροαματικϑς των λογων· τινι γαρ δη διοισομεν ἡμεις των αλλων, ει καθ' ὑς επαιδευθημεν λογϑς, ὑτοι παντων εσονται κοινοι; εγω δε βϑλοιμην αν ταις περι τα αριϛα εμπειριαις, η ταις δυναμεϭι διαφερειν· ερρωϭο·" Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[q] Salmaſius hath diſcuſſed with great learning, the Acroatic and Epoptic doctrines in the notes on Simplicius juſt referred to; (226——244.) and the editors of the new Deux-ponts edition of Ariſtotle in 8vo have very ingeniouſly given an epitome of them, which may be conſulted with advantage.

[r] "Την φιλοτιμιαν αυτϑ παραμυθϑμεν@ Αριϛοτελης, απολογειται περι των λογων εκεινων, ὡς εκδεδομενων ϰ̀ϑ μη εκδεδομενων· αληθως γαρ, ἡ μετα τα φυσικα πραγματεια, προς διδασκαλιαν ϰ̀ϑ μαθησιν ϑδεν εχϑϭα χρησιμον, ὑποδειγμα——τοις πεπαιδευμενοις απ' αρχης γεγραπται·" (Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.) Aulus Gellius hath preſerved the ſuppoſed conciſe anſwer, of the Peripatetic philoſopher, in which, as he remarks, there is the ſame "Brevitatis elegantiſſimæ filus tenuiſſimus."

"ΑΡ-

he might be therefore eaſy on the ſubject. An anſwer of this kind would ſink Ariſtotle in the general eſteem, and ſome juſtice is due to his injured reputation. In the dedication of his rhetoric to his Royal pupil,[s] he mentions the Prince's requeſt that he would not communicate the work to any other perſon, as he wiſhed alone to enjoy the advantage of it. The philoſopher, in reply, informs the Prince, that authors had a ſort of parental fondneſs for their works, and were not like the ſophiſts, who ſeldom were at the trouble of any compoſitions, and ſatisfied themſelves with the ſtipends from their ſcholars, whom they quitted without regret, and for whom they had no attachments. Ariſtotle concludes with an exhortation to Alexander to guard the precepts which were not ſullied by venality, and would contribute to his future happineſs and honour, whilſt in their turn they would derive no inconſiderable ſhare of luſtre from his patronage. The philoſopher thus artfully inſinuates, that from a parental ſpecies of regard for his works, he took a pride in their publication, and that, excluſive of ſuch motives, it was a duty, which he owed to his diſciples. In the end, he hints to the Prince with great addreſs, that he ought rather to profit by ſuch uſeful and diſintereſted maxims, than envy the public in general a knowledge of them. To ſoften

" ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ·

Εγραψας μοι περι των ακροατικων λογων, οιομενω δειν αυτους φυλαττειν εν απορρητοις· ισθι ουν αυτους ϗ εκδεδομενους, ϗ μη εκδεδομενους· ξυνεσται γαρ εισι μονοις τοις ημων ακουσασιν· ερρωσο." Aul. Gell. Lib. 20. C. 5.--877. Edit. Gronov. 4to L. B. 1709.

[s] "*Εγραψας δε μοι διακελευομενω. ὁπως μηδεις των λοιπων ανθρωπων ληψεται τον βιβλιον τουτο*"

Rhet. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 3.--833.

ſoften the unpleaſant part of the reply, he adds the compliment of ſuppoſing the Prince's notice of the precepts would be a ſtrong recommendation in their favour, and that their reputation would be fully eſtabliſhed by the honour of his adoption of them. Inſtead of approving of the little jealouſy and ſelf-intereſted views of Alexander, the maſter of the Lyceum excited his pupil to more generous actions, and encouraged him to diffuſe, as far as he was able, the knowledge[t] with which he was acquainted. Addreſſing alſo his treatiſe of the world to Alexander, this great man added, "I conſider it as highly glorious in you, who are one of the greateſt of Monarchs, to turn your mind to the ſtudy of thoſe ſublime truths, which hiſtory and philoſophy preſent to you, and to encourage the great men of your court to excel in all thoſe things, wherein you have ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed yourſelf!"[w]

We may reaſonably conceive Ariſtotle's anſwer was conveyed in terms of the ſame generous import, inſtead of the outrage to his memory, which hath been tranſmitted to poſterity. But this imaginary letter, and thoſe alſo at the end of his works, in which he exhorts Alexander to govern his ſubjects with lenity, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his virtues, are certainly of very dubious authority.

 The

t "Ὅπως νεοι καθεζοτες ὑπο μηδενῶ χρημασι διαφθαρησονται· κοσμιως δε μετα σϑ συμβαωσαντες εις ἡλικιαν ελθοντες." (Rhet. ad Alex. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 3.–833.) Advice worthy of the ſage who dictated it.

w "Πρεπειν δε οιμαι γε σοι ἡγεμονων οντι αριϛω, την των μεγιϛων ἱϛοριαν μετιεναι, φιλοσοφια τε μηδεν μικρον επιγοειν, αλλα τοις ταυτης δωροις δεξιϑσθαι τϑς αριϛϑς." De Mundo. C. 1. Ariſtot. Opera. Tom. 1.–846.

The author of the treatiſe on elocution, falſely attributed to Demetrius Phalereus,[x] ſeems to intimate, that Ariſtotle's letters were written in a ſuperior ſtyle, and reſembled dialogues and diſſertations. That, at preſent under conſideration, hath no characteriſtic of this kind either in form or matter, and as Artemon had made a collection of them, which the rhetorician alludes to, if this pretended letter of the Peripatetic philoſopher had been of the number, there can be no doubt, but he would have expreſſed *himſelf very differently concerning them.*——Some later Sophiſt, having read the preface to Alexander's rhetoric, perhaps fabricated both Alexander's letter, which is at preſent the ſubject of obſervation, and the anſwer to it. The writers of Pergamus and of Alexandria are well known to have been the authors of various works, which they paſſed upon the public as productions of the Ancients,[y] and it is very probable, that Andronicus Rhodius, of the Peripatetic ſect, who lived in the 180th Olympiad, and about 60 years before Chriſt, ſelected from them theſe forged letters of Alexander and his ancient maſter,[z] which were afterwards haſtily adopted by Aulus Gellius, and Plutarch. Alexander's letter indeed, as it correſponds with the general tenour of Ariſtotle's

[x] "Αρτεμων μεν ων, ὁ τας Αριστοτελους αναγραψας επιστολας φησιν, ὁτι δει εν τω αυτω τροπω, διαλογον τε γραφειν καὶ επιστολας· ειναι γαρ την επιστολην, ὁιον το ἑτερον μερος του διαλογου·" Demet. Phalereus. Sect. 231.

[y] Galen. De Hippocrat. Nat. Hom.

[z] "Exempla utrarumque literarum, ſumpta ex Andronici philoſophi libro ſubdidi." Aulus Gellius. Lib. 20. C. 5.--877.

Ariſtotle's expreſſions, may be allowed, though forged, to contain the Macedonian Monarch's ſentiments; but his virtuous Preceptor had never diſgraced himſelf by any proſtitution of his principles, notwithſtanding the ſhameful accuſations of Tertullian.[a]

The illuſtrious philoſopher inſpired his diſciple with a ſtrong partiality for Homer, whoſe beauties he explained to him, whilſt at the ſame time he enlarged upon the morality, which lent new charms to the harmony of verſe.[b] Alexander retained the whole Iliad by memory, and a great part of the Odyſſey, and frequently repeated different paſſages from theſe two poems.[c] He ſhewed alſo his diſcernment in the preference, which he gave as a Sovereign to Homer, in compariſon of Heſiod, whoſe works he thought more particularly calculated for paſtoral and rural life.[d] Under Alexander's pillow not only the Iliad of Homer was diſcovered, but even the Eunides of Cratinus,[e] a celebrated comic poet.

[a] "Ariſtoteles tam indecore Alexandro regendo potius adulatur, quam Plato Dionyſio ventris gratiâ venditatur." (Tertullian. Apologet. C. 46.--393. Ed. L. B. 8vo 1718.) The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that Tertullian, in his apology for Chriſtianity, hath tried, condemned, and executed all the great men of antiquity.——The African Preſbyter had certainly ſome of the fire of the climate in his conſtitution, and his zeal may have carried him farther than might be wiſhed; but allowances are to be made for the times, in which he wrote, and the perſecutions, under which the Chriſtian church was then ſmarting.

[b] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 11. De Regno paſſim.

[c] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 4. De Regno.—Dialog. Mortuorum. 12. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1. --384.

[d] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. 11. De Regno.

[e] Ptolem. Hephæſtion. Apud Hiſt. Poet. Scriptores. 326.

Harpalus had alſo a commiſſion from the young Prince to ſend him the works of Philiſtus, the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles, and the Dithyramblic works of Teleſtis and Philoxenus, Books being very ſcarce in the ſouthern provinces of Greece.[f]

The Macedonian Monarch took great pleaſure in tragical repreſentations, and Athenodorus, in his preſence, diſputed with Theſſalus the ſuperiority of their theatrical talents. The latter having been the unſucceſsful candidate for popular applauſe, the young Prince endeavoured to conſole him, and paid him the flattering compliment, that he would rather have loſt a part of his dominions, than Theſſalus ſhould have been worſted.[g] As far as we can judge from a circumſtance related by Athenæus, Alexander had not the ſame reliſh for comedy. Antiphanes, a comic writer of eminence, reading one day to him one of his pieces, and obſerving that the Prince was very inattentive to it, took the liberty of telling him, "that to enter into the ſpirit of ſuch performances, a little acquaintance with comic life was neceſſary, and that he would have enjoyed their beauties, if he had often formed one of thoſe parties, where a free currency of witticiſms paſſed without reſtraint."[h] Yet this want of taſte for comedy had no effect on his uſual

f "Των δε αλλων βιβλιων ηκ ευπορων εν τοις ανω τοποις, Αρπαλον εκελευσε πεμψαι· κακειν@ επεμψεν αυτω τας τε Φιλιςυ βιβλυς, κ) των Ευριπιδυ κ) Σοφοκλεους κ) Αισχυλυ τραγωδιων συχνας, κ) Τελεςυ κ) Φιλοξενυ διθυραμβυς." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

g "Επει δε ενικησεν Αθηνοδορ@, εβυλομην αν, εφη, μαλλον απολωλεναι μερ@ της βασιλειας, η Θετ]αλον επιδειν ητ]ημενον." De Fort. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--334.

h "Δει γαρ εφησεν, ω βασιλευ, τον ταυτα αποδεχομενον απο συμβολων τε πολλακις δεδειπνηκεναι· κ) περι

uſual liberality, and Lycon of Scarphia, having artfully interwoven in one of his pieces ſome verſes, in expectation of a gratuity, Alexander with a ſmile at his addreſs, ordered him ten talents.[i] This generoſity notwithſtanding ought to have had its bounds, and ſhould not have been ſhowered down with the profuſion upon Chœrilus, which Horace hath cenſured, though he ſeems to have exaggerated the anecdote.[k]—The agreement, which the Macedonian Monarch made with him, was certainly a ſingular one, and Chœrilus was to receive for every good verſe, a piece of gold, with a box upon the ear, for every bad one; but for his conſolation many modern poets, on the ſame terms, might have been expoſed to a repetition of the puniſhment, without any recompence. Alexander was, however, aware of the mediocrity of Chœrilus, and he frequently declared he would have preferred being the Therſites of Homer to the Achilles of his own poet.[l]

With

περὶ ἑταίρας πλεονάκις καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πληγάς" (Athenæus. Lib. 13. Tom. 1.--555.) The miſtreſs and the harlot made their appearance very frequently on the old comic ſtage, with both the Greek and Latin authors, and even the pruriencies of the Britiſh Drama were not effectually reſtrained at the opening of the preſent century. Antiphanes, from whom the anecdote is taken, was the author of no leſs than 260, or 365 comedies according to others. Fabricius, with perſevering induſtry, hath given a liſt of them. Fabricii Biblioth. Græca. Tom. 1.--742——744.

[i] De Fort. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--334.

[k] "Gratus Alexandro Regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui verſibus et male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos."
Horat. Epiſt. Lib. 1. 8.--232——234.

[l] "Chœrilus poeta fuit, qui Alexandrum Magnum ſecutus, bella ejuſdem deſcripſit: cui Alexander

With theſe ideas, it may be aſked, how the Macedonian Monarch could have retained at his court both Chœrilus, Agis of Argos,[m] Cleo of Sicily, and many others of the moſt wretched poetaſters in the Grecian cities.——Their deſpicable abilities could not have recommended them to his protection, but having wormed themſelves into favour by the baſeſt adulation, they had corrupted his heart, without being able to ſeduce his underſtanding.——Few perſons of a liberal education are ignorant of the freedom of Diogenes with Alexander, but the Prince could not help admiring the ſarcaſtic boldneſs of the Cynic. Dion. Chryſoſtom[n] hath given the converſation of theſe two celebrated Perſonages, where the characters of the ſpeakers in the dialogue are very well preſerved, though we may wiſh the pleaſantry, on Alexander's father Ammon, had been omitted,[o] as he did not pretend to paſs for the ſon of this Deity before the Lybian expedition, which was long after this interview.

The Royal munificence, with which Alexander encouraged the labours

ander dixiſſe fertur, malle ſe Therſitem Homeri eſſe, quam hujus Achillem." Acro ad Horatii Art. Poet. V. 357.

[m] "Agis quidam Argivus peſſimorum carminum poſt Chœrilum conditor, et ex Siciliâ Cleo; hic quidem non ingenii ſolum, ſed etiam nationis vitio adulator; et cetera urbium ſuarum purgamenta, quæ propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege præferebantur." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 5. Tom. 2.--594.) The Latin hiſtorian could not have divined a ſtronger expreſſion than the "Purgamenta."

[n] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. De Regno. 4.

[o] Lucian hath avoided the dilemma, by laying the ſcene in the ſhades after Alexander's death. Dial. Mort. 13. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--389——394.

labours of Ariſtotle,[p] ought to inſure him the gratitude of men of letters, but his bounty was alſo extended to Xenocrates. A very conſiderable ſum was remitted to this philoſopher for his immediate wants, which Plutarch fixes at fifty talents;[q] and for the honour of Xenocrates, the Greek hiſtorian ſhould have added, that he only accepted of thirty minæ.[r]——Pyrrho received of Alexander, according to Sextus Empyricus[s] ten thouſand pieces of gold for a poem in the Conqueror's praiſe. This dubious fact however is refuted by the joint teſtimony of Ariſtocles and Diogenes

p "La magnificence vraiment royale, avec laquelle Alexandre encouragea les travaux d'Ariſtote, devroit ſeule lui meriter la reconnaiſſance des gens de lettres." I could have wiſhed that the Baron de St. Croix had ſpecified ſome of theſe acts of Royal magnificence, but not one ſingle inſtance is referred to. In the life of Ariſtotle by Ammonius, we meet with the following paſſage. "Ὁ δε γε Αριστοτελης ερχεται εν τη των Μακεδονων πολει, ενθα παιδευει Αλεξανδρον το Κτισην, ϗ μεγα μερος γεγονε της τυτυ βασιλειας πολλα γαρ εδυνηθη παρα τω βασιλει" but the only favour, I believe, on record, which he received, was that mentioned, ſo much to his honour by Plutarch, and conferred upon him by Philip. "Μετεπεμψατο των Φιλοσοφων τον ενδοξοτατον ϗ λογιωτατον, Αριστοτελην, καλα ϗ πρεποντα διδασκαλια τελευσας αυτω· την γαρ Σταγειριτων πολιν, εξ ης ην Αριστοτελης, αναστατον ὑπ' αυτυ γεγηνεμενην, συνωκισε παλιν, ϗ τυς διαφυγοντας η δυλευοντας των πολιτων αποκατεστησεν·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.) Alexander's Royal munificence reſpecting the philoſopher is therefore very problematical, and in the latter part of their lives, even every friendly intercourſe ſeems to have vaniſhed.

q De Vit. Alex. Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

r Plutarch in his Apothegms hath notwithſtanding mentioned the philoſopher's refuſal of the fifty talents: "Ὡς ουκ εδεξατο, μη δεισθαι φησας·" (Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--181.) And Diogenes Laertius relates the circumſtance with the philoſopher's obſervation: Αλεξανδρυ γεν ϗ συχνον αργυριον αποστειλαντος αυτω, τρισχιλιας Αττικας αφελων, το λοιπον απεπεμψεν, ειπων 'ΕΚΕΙΝΩ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΙΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑΣ ΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΙ." Diog. Laert. Lib. 4. Segm. 8. Tom. 1.--232.

s Sextus Empyricus, adverſus Grammat. Ed. Fabricii. 278.

genes Laertius,[t] who aſſure us this Sceptic philoſopher neither left any work behind him, nor ever wrote any.

Dandamis and Calanus[w] the celebrated Indian Gymnoſophiſts, were alſo treated in a diſtinguiſhed manner by the Macedonian Monarch, and the latter had very magnificent funeral obſequies beſtowed on him. Calliſthenes, Oneſicritus, and Anaxarchus, enjoyed likewiſe Alexander's perſonal favour, and were honoured with many marks of his friendſhip and benevolence. Calliſthenes indeed forfeited them, as will be mentioned afterwards, but Oneſicritus and Anaxarchus continued to preſerve their influence by the moſt ignominious flattery. Suppoſing they could not ſufficiently diſcharge by any other method their debt of gratitude, they failed in the duties, that truth impoſes upon every writer, in compariſon of which every other obligation ceaſes.[x]

The arts and ſciences, when Alexander began to reign, flouriſhed in Greece, and its tranquillity, which continued undiſturbed during

[t] "Οι δ'ὅλως ϐ συνεγραψαν, ὡσπιερ κατα τινας, Σωκρατης, Στιλπων, Φιλιππος, Μενεδημ& Πορρων'" Diog. Laert. Proœmium Segm. 16. Tom. 1.--11.—See alſo Ariſtonic. apud Euſeb. Præparat. Evangel. 718.

[w] Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--668.

[x] Intellectual ſlavery, which fetters the freedom of the mind, is aſſuredly of every ſpecies of ſubjection, the moſt cruel and ſevere. Quintilian obſerves with ſpirit, "Nihil eſt periculoſius acceptis beneficiis, ſi in omnem nos adligant ſervitutem," (Declam. 333.--687. 4to L. B. 1720.) and Man muſt be indeed a degraded being that can accept of ſuch ſervices with ſuch chains.

during the whole courſe of his conqueſts, contributed greatly towards the perfection of the public taſte.[y] Artiſts of great talents in every denomination were encouraged by rewards, and the choice, which the Macedonian Monarch made of Lyſippus, Pyrgoteles, and of Apelles, is well known.[z] The manner in which he received Dinocrates, an eminent Macedonian architect,[a] proves that he found a pleaſure in extending his protection to perſons of abilities, though in the rejection of the architect's abſurd deſign of cutting mount Atlas into a Coloſſal ſtatue to repreſent him, he diſcovered his own good ſenſe and the greatneſs of his mind.[b] A weaker underſtanding, as Lucian[c] hath obſerved, might have been tempted by the offer, and would not have poſſeſſed perhaps ſufficient

 reſolution

[y] See upon this ſubject, Winkelman Hiſt. de l'Art. Tom. 2.—who hath entered into it with the warmth and minuteneſs of a connoiſſeur.

[z] "Imperator edixit, ne quis ipſum alius, quam Apelles, pingeret: quam Pyrgoteles ſculperet: quam Lyſippus ex ære duceret." Plinii Nat. Hiſt. Lib. 7. C. 37.-Tom. 2.--59, 60.

[a] "Dinocrates architectus pluribus modis memorabili ingenio." (Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 5. C. 10. Tom. 1.--561.) Plutarch gives him the name of Staſicrates.

[b] "Athon montem formavi in ſtatuæ virilis figuram, cujus manu lævâ deſignavi civitatis ampliſſimæ mœnia, dextrâ pateram, quæ exciperet omnium fluminum, quæ ſunt in illo monte, aquam, ut inde in mare profunderetur. Delectatus Alexander ratione formæ ſtatim quæſivit, ſi eſſent agri circa, qui poſſent frumentaria ratione civitatem tueri. Cum inveniſſet non niſi tranſmarinis ſubvectionibus; Dinocrates inquit, attendo egregiam formæ compoſitionem, et eâ delector; ſed animadverto, ſi quis deduxerit eo loci coloniam, fore ut judicium ejus vituperetur." Vitruvius Præfat. ad Lib. 2.--17. Folio. Amſt. 1649.

[c] "Επηνει δε τον Αλεξανδρον της μεγαλοψυχιας, ϗ ανδριαντα μειζω τουτου τυ Αθω ελεγεν αυτυ ανεστανται, εν ταις των αει μεμνησομενων διανοιας· υ γαρ μικρας ειναι γνωμης ὑπεριδειν ὑτω παραδοξυ τιμης·" Lucian. pro Imagin. Tom. 2.--489.

reſolution to have deſpiſed this exceſſive and extraordinary honour. But a clear and correct delicacy of taſte, was, in this inſtance, an effectual preſervative againſt the deluſions of vanity and pride. —Alexander, however, afterwards employed Dinocrates in the conſtruction of Alexandria, and this artiſt both drew the plan and directed its execution.[d] Lucian then is in an error, when he advances, that Dinocrates loſt the favour of his maſter by this fulſome piece of flattery, and was not afterwards conſulted or employed by him.[e] The circumſtantial detail, which Vitruvius[f] hath left us, of the means, which the artiſt made uſe of to introduce himſelf into Alexander's ſervice, demonſtrates inconteſtably that he was a ſtranger to him before this ſingular propoſal. From his reſidence in the Eaſt, the corruption of the Macedonian Monarch's taſte may be dated, and the multiplicity of the ornaments on the funeral pile of Hephæſtion fully authorizes the obſervation. Perſians, Macedonians, ſhips and boats, banners and other military trophies, were profuſely introduced, and there was a ſtrange

[d] "Cum Rex Alexander urbem in Ægypto conſtituere vellet, architectus Dinocrates cum cretam non haberet, polentaque futuræ urbis lineamenta duxiſſet, &c." (Val. Max. Lib. 1. C. 4.--46, 47.) "Alexandria enim vortex omnium eſt civitatum: quam multa nobilitant, et magnificentia conditoris altiſſimi, et architecti ſolertia Dinocratis." Amm. Marcellinus. Lib. 22. C. 16.--371. Ed. Gron. 4to 1693.

[e] "Αλλα κολακα ευθυς επιγνυς τον ανθρωπον, ουκ επ'ωδ'ες τα αλλα ὁμοιως εχρητο." Lucian. Quomod. Hiſt. conſcrib. ſit. Tom. 2.--17.

[f] "Conſpexit eum Alexander——————interrogabatque quis eſſet: At ille, Dinocrates, inquit, architectus Macedo, qui ad te cogitationes et formas affero dignas tuâ claritate." Vitruvius. Præfat. Lib. 2.--17.

ſtrange and inconſiſtent mixture of centaurs, lions and ſirens.[g] Alexander's correct judgment therefore in the arts, which Horace[h] hath applauded, was only ſtrictly true before his Aſiatic conqueſts, and Oriental luxury produced afterwards a total change in it.

Nature had not refuſed to the Macedonian Monarch that exquiſite ſenſibility, which in the Grecian climate was ſo common. Ariſtotle underſtood too well the advantages to be derived from muſic in the education of his pupil, to neglect any talents of this kind, that he diſcovered; but the rules, which he had laid down, did not admit of all the varieties of inſtrumental harmony, and the flute being proſcribed,[i] it does not appear to have been uſed in the Prince's company.

g See l'Hiſt. de l'Academie des Inſcript. &c. Tom. 31.--76. &c. &c.

h "Judicium ſubtile videndis artibus illud." Horat. Epiſt. 1.--242. Lib. 2.

i "Ουτε γαρ αυλοις εις παιδειαν ακτεον, ουτ'αλλο τεχνικον οργανον, οἷον κιθαραν, και ει τι τοιουτον ἑτερον εϛιν, αλλα ὁσα ϖοιησει αυτων ακροατας αγαθους, η της μϋσικης παιδειας, η της αλλης· ετι δε ουκ εϛιν ὁ αυλος ηθικον, αλλα μαλλον οργανιϛικον· ὡϛε προς τους τοιϋτους αυτω καιρους χρηϛεον, εν οἷς ἡ θεωρια καθαρσιν μαλλον δυναται, η μαθησιν· προσθωμεν δε, οτι συμβεβηκεν εναυτιον αυτω προς παιδειαν, κ᾽ το κωλευειν τω λωγω χρησθαι την αυλησιν· διο καλως απεδοκιμασαν αυτο ὁι ϖροτερον την χρησιν εκ των νεων, κ᾽ των ελευθερων·————————Επει δε των τε οργανων κ᾽ της εργασιας αποδοκιμαζομεν την τεχνικην παιδειαν· τεχνικην δε τιθεμεν την προς τους αγωνας (εν ταυτη γαρ ὁ πραττων, ου της αυτου μεταχειριζεται χαριν αρετης, αλλα της των ακουοντων ἡδονης κ᾽ ταυτης Φορτικης·) διοϖερ ου των ελευθερων κρινομεν ειναι την εργασιαν, αλλα θητικοτεραν." (Ariſtot. de Republicâ. Lib. 8. C. 6. Tom. 3.--611, 612.) A modern author, that I have ſomewhere met with, hath ſummed up every advantage to be reaped from muſic by ſaying it "is an elegant amuſement." "It is a ſcience however," he adds, "which employs no one uſeful faculty of the mind, and it often leads to company, which a gentleman would conſider a diſgrace, if he was not himſelf an Amateur." I will not ſay with Shakeſpeare that he

"——Is fit for treaſons, ſtratagems and ſpoils."

This conjecture may ſerve to explain Alexander's emotions when Timotheus played ſomething in the Orthian[k] ſtyle, till then unknown, and which inflamed the Macedonian Monarch in ſuch a manner, that he hurried to his arms. Antigenides is alſo ſaid to have agitated Alexander ſtill more violently at an entertainment, with ſome Harmatian meaſures.[l] Plutarch, notwithſtanding, tells us, that Alexander knew perfectly how to preſerve his dignity, and by no means diſgraced himſelf with the allowance of any improper freedoms, either from muſicians, or the profeſſors of any ſuch accompliſhments.[m] The Greek hiſtorian undoubtedly meant to allude to the time when the Son of Philip was under the tuition of Leonides and Ariſtotle, as he had, ſome pages before, mentioned Alexander's partialities for rapſodies, and the performers on the flute and harp. Feſtivals were inſtituted in which the Con-

queror

[k] Suidas relates this anecdote at the word "Ορθιασματων," (Tom. 2.--713.) and he defines the "Ορθιον νομον" as follows, "Ανατεταμενοι δ'ησαν κ᾽ ευτονοι· Ὁμηρ@

Ενθα ϛασ'ηνσε Θεα μεγα τε δεινον τε,
Ορθι, Αχαιοισι·"

[l] "Και γαρ αυτ@, Αντιγενιδη ποτε τον ἁρματειον αυλουντ@ νομον, ἑτως ωαρεϛη κ᾽ διεφλεχθη τον θυμον ὑπο των μελων, ὡϛε τοις ὁπλοις αιξας, επιβαλειν τας χειρας εγ.υς ωαρακειμενοις·" (De Fort. Alex. Orat. 2. Plut. Oper. Tom. 2.--335.) Suidas explains the "'Αρματει@ νομ@.———ἁρματειον μελ@, απο ἁρματ@· ὁπερ εποιησαν εφ''Εκτορι ἑλκομενω ὑφ'ἁρματ@· ('Αρματει@. Tom. 1.--332.) Kuſter very curiouſly adds, as a note upon this paſſage, "Quid ſit 'Αρματειον μελ@ pulchre explicat etymologus, quem conſule." The Baron de St. Croix hath rendered the "Τον ἁρματειον νομον" "Ce nom Harmatien," It muſt be allowed to be, at leaſt, a literal tranſlation.

[m] I am apprehenſive the whole of this paſſage is founded on a miſtake. Plutarch is referred to, but Philip's ideas have been transferred to Alexander. "Και τοις ωαιϱι μαθσικην, κ᾽ τα εγκυκ-

λια

queror of the Eaſt offered prizes and rewards to theſe different performers, and on the celebration of the marriages between the Macedonians and the Perſians, the moſt celebrated practitioners were ſearched after and ſent for. Some played on the flute, ſome on the harp, others accompanied them with their voices, and thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves were magnificently rewarded. The crowns and garlands, which were diſtributed on this occaſion, amounted, according to Chares, to ten thouſand five hundred talents, and even the *fingers*, the *tragic* and *comic characters*, and the figure-dancers had a ſhare in the donations.[n]

The Macedonian Monarch had been a great admirer from his infancy, as may be gathered from Dexippus,[o] of a variety of vigorous and athletic exerciſes. He excelled in running,[p] he wreſtled with Criſſon,[q] and amuſed himſelf at the ball with Ariſtonicus, to whom the Athenians erected a ſtatue and gave the rights

λια παιδευταις ὑ παννυ τι πιζευων την επιζασιαν αυτυ ϗ καταρτισιν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.-- 667, 668.

n "A dix mille talents." "Οι δε πεμφθεντες φησι ζεφανοι ὑπο των πρεσβευτων ϗ των λοιπων ταλαντων ησαν μυριων πενταχισχιλιων" (Athenæus. Lib. 12. Tom. 1.--539.) where there is a long and entertaining account of this ſplendid carouſal.

o "Παταν ασκησιν ησκημεν῵ σωματικην" Syncellus. 263.—Euſeb. Chronic. 57.

p "Ελαφρ῵ δε ων ϗ ποδωκης." Plut. Apoth. Tom. 2.--179.

q Plutarch tells us, that this conteſt of the Macedonian Monarch with Criſſon was in running. "Ωσπερ Κρισσων ὁ Ἰμεραι῵ απελειφθη διαθεων προς Αλεξανδρον." (De Adulat. Tom. 2.--58.) See however Palmerius. Obſervat. in Auctor. Græc.--214.

rights and privileges of a citizen,[r] on account of his wonderful agility. Alexander entertained indeed ſuch a ſincere regard for him, that having perceived ſome likeneſs between him and Palamedes, in a picture of the latter at Epheſus, where he was repreſented expiring in the ſnares of his enemies, he was affected with the tendereſt concern.[s] The Prince ſeemed alſo to have a ſimilar regard for the pugiliſt Dioxippus[t] before the unmerited diſgrace, which he fell into. Clitomachus, one of the unfortunate inhabitants of Thebes, who ſurvived its ruin, and gained many prizes by his performances on the lute, and in the pancratium, prevailed upon the Conqueror, from theſe ſucceſſes, to alleviate his captivity, though it is not true as Tzetzes reports,[w] that Alexander rebuilt Thebes out of reſpect to him. Theſe inſtances are ſufficient to render doubtful what Plutarch relates of this Prince's averſion to the wreſtlers.[x] Yet we may, notwithſtanding, believe with this hiſtorian,

[r] "Αριζονικον, τον Καρυζιον τον Αλεξανδρε σφαιριζην Αθηναιοι πολιτην εποιησαν δια την τεχνην κ᾽ ανδριαντα ανεζασαν." Athenæus. Lib. 1.--19.

[s] "Περι Αλεξανδρε τε βασιλεως φησιν, ὡς εν Εφεσω θεασαμενος Παλαμηδην δολοφονημενον εν πινακι, ἐθορυβηθη· διοτι εοικει τω δολοφονημενω Αριζονεικος ὁ σφαιριζης Αλεξανδρε." Ptol. Hephæſt. Hiſt. Poet. Script. 305, 306. 8vo 1675.

[t] "Dioxippus Athenienſis pugil nobilis, et ob eximiam virtutem regi pernotus et gratus;" (Q. Curt. Lib. 9. C. 7. Tom. 2.--717, 718.) who ſeems to have copied the account of his fatal ſucceſs from Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--237, 238.

[w] Chilo. 139.

[x] "Φαινεται δε κ᾽ καθολε προς τον των αθλητων γενος αλλοτριος εχων. πλειζες γε τοι θεις αγωνας ε μονον τραγωδων κ᾽ αυλητων κ᾽ κιθαρωδων, αλλα κ᾽ ραψωδων, θηρας τε παντοδαπης κ᾽ ραβδομαχιας, ετε πυγμης, ετε πανκρατιε μετα τινος σπεδης εθηκεν αθλον." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--666.

torian, that it was with ſome reluctance he permitted the introduction of pugiliſm and the pancratium into the gymnaſtic games, in the ſpectacles, which he gave to his troops. This appears to be the fair and candid conſtruction of the text of Plutarch, though the learned Monſieur Burette hath ſuppoſed, that the Macedonian Monarch "thought ſo little of both pugiliſm and the pancratium as not to give himſelf the trouble of allowing them a place amongſt the other games, of which the public feſtivals were compoſed."[y] It is therefore very probable that Alexander's antipathy was only to the pugiliſts by profeſſion, and thoſe who devoted themſelves to the pancratium, without any other occupation. We may eaſily conceive then, that in the games at Ecbatana, and in thoſe, where the children only entered the liſts,[z] the Conqueror might follow with leſs embarraſſment his own inclinations; and as thoſe games were not there very common, they might with leſs difficulty be varied. The Stadium or ſimple foot-race, and the Dolichus or long courſe, where children contended for the prize in Nemean, Aſclepian, Ælean and Olympic games;[a] or even the Diaulus or double courſe,[b] in which children engaged at the Pythian

y "Il faiſoit ſi peu de cas du pugilat et du pancrace, qu'il ne ſe mit jamais en peine de leur donner place parmi les autres ſpectacles, qui compoſoient ces ſortes de fêtes publiques." Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 3.--263.

z This was ſometimes the caſe, as may be learnt from Arrian. "Παιδων γαρ αγων ην εκεινη τη ἡμερα γυμνικος." De Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 14.--508.

a See an inſcription found in the city of Tegæa. Corſini Diſſert. 4.—And his obſervations on it.

b The Stadium was a ſimple foot-race, revived by Iphitus, taking its name from its length: the Diaulus

an games, might have been preferred to the pancratium and pugiliſm. Alexander, previous to his departure for Aſia, offered the ſacrifices to Jupiter Olympius, which had been inſtituted by Archelaus, one of his predeceſſors; and both celebrated the Olympic games at Ægæ,[c] and alſo treated the public with gymnaſtic exerciſes on every remarkable occaſion.

The circumſtances that have been mentioned, will have thrown ſome little light on Alexander's education, whoſe private life deſerves as much attention as his victories. In following the different hiſtorians of his actions there is a philoſophical kind of duty, which ſhould not be forgotten. The Son of Philip hath been called the Great, but ſuch an epithet hath been ſometimes voluntarily proſtituted by the vileſt adulation, and at others compulſively extorted by arrogance and tyranny. Without being overawed by the authority of a great name, let us endeavour, by a cool and candid examination of the Macedonian Monarch's pretenſions,

Diaulus was a double ſtadium, in which they ran from the barrier to the goal, (the modern Amateur of the turf will excuſe an adherence to ancient terms) and returned to the barrier; and the Dolichus was a ſtill longer courſe, conſiſting of ſeven, twelve, and ſometimes twenty-four ſtadia. (Suidas ad Δολιχος. Tom. 1.--214.) In the two former, ſpeed was generally ſucceſsful; but in the latter, both ſtrength and ſpeed, and, in the language of Newmarket, bottom, were abſolutely neceſſary. Much curious information on the ſubject of the Grecian games may be collected from Corſini, (Diſſert. Agoniſt.) who hath touched on almoſt every intereſting particular that relates to them.

[c] "Celebra à Ægas les jeux Olympiques qui y avoient eté etablis par Archelaus." The Baron de St. Croix refers to Arrian, and I have almoſt verbally tranſlated him. "Δι τω Ολυμπιω την θυσιαν την απ' Αρχελαυ ετι καθεςωσαν ἐθυσε, ἡ τον αγωνα εν Αιγαις διεθηκε τα Ολυμπια" Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 11.--45.

tenſions, to diſcover if he had any right to the title. Juſtin[d] reports that Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia put all his ſtepmother's relations to death, and that every individual, the brilliancy of whoſe talents might have raiſed in them any royal expectations, was included in this proſcription, but there is not a veſtige of this calumny in the writings of the Ancients.

The reſtoration of the privileges of the Grecian colonies in Aſia, and the deſtruction of an odious Oligarchy were the firſt fruits of Alexander's victories.[e] His moderation and his juſtice, were in many inſtances undoubtedly conſpicuous, but the hiſtorians may have multiplied them, and they ought not to be admitted in a group without conſideration.

We are informed by Q. Curtius, that Strato having been deprived of his dominions from his attachment to Darius, the Conqueror permitted Hephæſtion to diſpoſe of the vacant diadem as he pleaſed.[f] The Favourite caſt his eyes upon two young men,

[d] "Proficiſcens ad Perſicum bellum, omnes novercæ ſuæ cognatos,——————interfecit. Sed nec ſuis, qui apti regno videbantur, pepercit." Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 5.--265.

[e] "Και τας μεν ολιγαρχιας πανταχυ καταλυειν εκελευσε, δημοκρατιας δε γε εγκαθιζαναι, κ᾽ τυς νομυς τυς σφων ἑκαζοις αποδυναι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 1. C. 18.--68.

[f] "Regnabat in eâ Strato, Darii opibus adjutus; ſed quia deditionem magis popularium, quam ſuâ ſponte fecerat, regno viſus indignus; Hephæſtionique permiſſum, ut quem eo faſtigio e Sidoniis digniſſimum arbitraretur, conſtitueret regem. Erant Hephæſtione hoſpites clari inter ſuos juvenes, qui factâ ipſis poteſtate regnandi, negaverunt, quemquam patrio more in id faſtigium recipi, niſi regiâ ſtirpe ortum. Admiratus Hephæſtio magnitudinem animi ſpernentis, quod alii per

who were then his gueſts, but they declined the honour, and recommended to him Abdolominus, deſcended from their ancient kings, but reduced to a ſtate of poverty, in which he laboured for a maintenance.[g]

Hephæſtion confirmed their choice, but Juſtin ſeems to hint that the new monarch was not of a noble extraction,[h] and Diodorus Siculus tranſports the ſcene to Tyre after its capture, where he ſuppoſes Balonymus[i] to have ſucceeded Strato. The latter hiſtorian

per ignes ferrumque peterent. Vos quidem macti virtute, inquit, eſtote, qui primi intellexiſtis, quanto majus eſſet, regnum faſtidire quam accipere. Ceterum, date aliquem regiæ ſtirpis, qui meminerit, a vobis acceptum habere ſe regnum. At illi quum multos imminere tantæ ſpei cernerent, ſingulis amicorum Alexandri, ob nimiam regni cupiditatem, adulantes; ſtatuunt, neminem eſſe potiorem quam Abdolominum quemdam, longâ quidem cognatione ſtirpi regiæ adnexum, ſed ob inopiam ſuburbanum hortum exiguâ colentem ſtipe." Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 1. Tom. 1. --156——158.

[g] If we could ſuppoſe, with Q. Curtius, the converſation between the new Monarch and his Royal Patron to have really paſſed, an inſtructive and uſeful leſſon might be collected from it. "Admitti eum Rex protinus juſſit; diuque contemplatus, 'corporis,' inquit, 'habitus famæ generis non repugnat: ſed libet ſcire, inopiam quâ patientiâ tuleris?' Tum ille, utinam, inquit, 'eodem animo regnum pati poſſim: hæ manus ſuffecere deſiderio meo: nihil habenti, nihil defuit.'" Q. Curtius. Lib. 4. C. 1. Tom. 1.--160.

[h] "Juſtin pretend que ce nouveaux roi etoit d'une naiſſance obſcure." The Latin hiſtorian ſays nothing of the birth or family of Abdalonimus, and the conſtruction, which the Baron de St. Croix hath put upon the paſſage, can only be inferred by implication. "Inſignis præter cæteros fuit Abdalonimus, rex ab Alexandro Sidoniæ conſtitutus: quem Alexander, cum operam oblocare ad puteos exhauriendos, hortoſque inrigandos ſolitus eſſet, miſere vitam exhibentem, regem fecerat, ſpretis nobilibus, ne generis id, non dantis beneficium putarent." (Lib. 11. C. 10. --282, 283.) I have lowered the force of the French expreſſion.

[i] "Της μεν Τυριων πολεως κατεςησε τον ονομαζομενον Βαλλωνυμον." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2. --595.

hiſtorian however, deceives himſelf, for Azelminus then reigned inſtead of Strato. The author of the ſecond diſſertation on the fortune of Alexander, attributed to Plutarch,[k] aſſures us that this event happened at Paphos, which was at that time under the dominion of a vicious and tyrannical prince of the family of the Cinarides. After the tyrant had been dethroned by the Macedonian Monarch, a perſon of the ſame Royal lineage was ſubſtituted in his room, who had lived till then unnoticed, from the produce of a garden, which he cultivated. On his acceſſion to the throne, he took the name of Alunomus, but the circumſtance of Hephæſtion's recommendation is wanting.—The variation and diſagreement of the different hiſtorians afford a ſtrong ſuſpicion of the anecdote, and the ſilence of Arrian renders it ſtill more dubious. As Strato, in the abſence of his father Geroſtratus, the king of the Aradians, who had then joined Autophrodates with the Phœnician fleet, went to meet Alexander, and to put Aradus, Marathon, Mariamne, and the reſt of his dominions under the Macedonian Monarch's protection,[l] the fable may be owing to his offer of obedience.

k "Παλιν εν Παφω, τω βασιλευοντ☉ αδικε κ☽ πονηρω φανεντ☉, εκβαλων τυτον Αλεξανδρ☉, ἑτερον εζητει, τω Κινυραδων γενες ηδη φθινειν κ☽ απολειπειν δοκυντος· ἑνα δ'ων εφασαν περιειναι πενητα κ☽ αδοξον ανθρωπον εν κηπω τινι παρημελημενως διατρεφομενον· επι τυτον οι πεμφθεντες ηκον, ευρεθη δε περασιαις ὑδωρ επαντλων————αχθεις δε προς Αλεξανδρον εν ευτελει σινδονικη, βασιλευς ανηγορευθη, κ☽ πορφυραν ελαβε, κ☽ εις την των ἑταιρων προσαγορευομενων· εκαλειτο δε αρα Λλυνομ☉." Plutarchi Opera. Tom. 2. --340.

l Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 13.--144.

Moſt probably the ſame Hiſtorians have repreſented Alexander's conduct, in a more favourable, than correct light, reſpecting the Queen and mother of Darius, after the battle of Iſſus. The miſtake which Syſigambis made, when ſhe imagined Hephæſtion to have been the king, and the anſwer of the Macedonian Monarch are only given by Arrian as traditions,[m] which were neither taken notice of by Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus. Yet he does not think they were entirely deſtitute of probability,[n] and he laviſhes much praiſe and commendation on Alexander's[o] virtue, which, he argues, muſt have been highly celebrated from the circulation of ſuch a vague and uncertain adventure.

Monſieur de Bougainville hath amply, as well as ably vindicated the honour of Statira,[p] whoſe character and conduct had ſuffered and been ſuſpected from the ambiguity and inaccuracy of Plutarch and Juſtin. His defence of this Princeſs is founded on the moſt ſagacious obſervations, and the ſubject is handled in ſuch a maſterly manner, that it wants no additions.

The

[m] "Λογος δε εχει.————" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 12.--141.

[n] "Και ταυτα εγω ουδ'ως αληθη, ουτε ως παντη απιστα ανεγραψα." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 2. C. 12.--141, 142.

[o] One of the fineſt eulogies upon Alexander that is to be met with in any language, may be found in Monteſquieu. "Qu'eſt-ce que ce conquerant, qui eſt pleuré de tous les peuples qu'il a ſoumis? qu'eſt-ce que cet uſurpateur, ſur la mort duquel la famille qu'il a renverſeé du trône verſe des larmes? C'eſt un trait de cette vie dont les hiſtoriens ne nous diſent pas que quelque autre conquerant puïſſe ſe vanter." De l'Eſprit de Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--198. 4to Ed. 1767.

[p] Hiſtoire de l'Academie des Inſcriptions. Tom. 25.--37.

The Macedonian Monarch's generoſity to the Royal family of Perſia, which Tyriotes had related to Darius, induced him, according to Q. Curtius,[q] to ſend ambaſſadors to his more fortunate rival, and ſue for peace. Neither Diodorus Siculus[r] nor Juſtin[s] have ſpoken of the pathetic converſation between Darius and Tyriotes, or Tyrcus, as he is called by Plutarch, though they have recorded the embaſſy, which had the peace of Aſia for its object. All the hiſtorians, fix the time of this embaſſy ſome days after the battle of Gaugamele. Arrian ſtates the converſation of the Perſian Monarch with his Eunuch to have been ſoon after the battle of Iſſus, but he allows its certainty depended on very looſe reports,[t] and to ſuch reports little credit can certainly be due.

One

[q] "Itaque quamquam pace fruſtra bis petitâ, omnia in bellum conſilia converterat; victus tamen continentiâ hoſtis, ad novas pacis conditiones ferendas decem legatos cognatorum principes miſit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 4. C. 11. Tom. 1.--249.) The affecting interview between Darius and Tyriotes is luxuriantly deſcribed in the preceding pages.

[r] "Παλιν εξεπεμψεν αλλες πρεσβεις, επαινων μεν αυτον επι τω καλως κεχρησθαι τη τε μετρι καὶ τοις αλλοις αιχμαλωτοις, αξιων δε φιλον γενεσθαι, καὶ λαβειν την εντὸς Ευφρατε χωραν, καὶ ταλαντα αργυριε τριςχιλια, καὶ την ἑτεραν τε ἑαυτε θυγατερων γυναικα." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--202.

[s] In itinere nuntiatur, uxorem ejus ex colliſione abjecti partus deceſſiſſe, ejuſque mortem illachrymatum Alexandrum, exſequiaſque benigne proſecutum, idque eum non amoris, ſed humanitatis cauſâ feciſſe. Nam ſemel tantum eam Alexandro viſam eſſe, cum matrem filiaſque ejus parvulas frequenter conſolaretur. Tunc Darius ſe ratus vere victum, cum poſt prælia etiam beneficiis ab hoſte ſuperaretur, gratumque ſibi eſſe, ſi vincere nequeat, quod a tali potiſſimum vinceretur. Scribit itaque et tertias epiſtolas, et gratias agit, quod nihil in ſuos hoſtile fecerat. Offert deinceps majorem partem regni uſque flumen Euphraten et alteram filiam uxorem: pro reliquis captivis triginta millia talentum." Juſtin. Lib. 11. C. 12.--287, 288.

[t] "Και τοινυν καὶ λογὸν κατεχει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 20.--308.

One of the firſt politicians of our age hath admitted, that Alexander was guilty of two diſgraceful actions, the burning of Perſepolis, and the murder of Clitus. But Monteſquieu appears to have been led into an error by Q. Curtius, who relates that the Conqueror of Aſia, on the inſtigation of Thais and fluſhed with wine, at the end of an entertainment ſet fire to the palace of Perſepolis, and that the city was entirely conſumed.[w]——The Latin hiſtorian hath given, however, too extenſive a conſtruction to the text of Diodorus Siculus, from which he ſeems to have borrowed his relation, as the Greek author merely tells us, that the environs of the palace were burnt.[x] Arrian ſpeaks only of the

[w] Q. Curtius, with ſome introductory ſentences deſcriptive of the Royal debauchery, gives the following detail of its deſtruction. "Thais et ipſa temulenta, maximam apud omnes Græcorum initurum gratiam adfirmat, ſi regiam Perſarum juſſit incendi. Expectare hoc eos, quorum urbes barbari deleſſent. Ebrio ſcorto de tantâ re ferente ſententiam, unus et alter, et ipſi mero onerati, adſentiunt. Rex quoque fuit avidior, quam patienter: quin igitur ulciſcimur Græciam, et urbi faces ſubdimus? omnes incaluerant mero: itaque ſurgunt temulenti ad incendendam urbem, cui armati pepercerant. Primus rex ignem regiæ injecit; tum convivæ et miniſtri, pelliceſque. Multa cedro ædifica erat regia: quæ celeritâ igne concepto, late fudit incendium. Quod ubi exercitus, qui haud procul ab urbe tendebat, conſpexit; fortuitum ratus, ad opem ferendam concurrit. Sed ut ad veſtibulum regiæ ventum eſt, vident regem ipſum adhuc adgerentem faces. Omiſſâ igitur, quam portaverant, aquâ, aridam materiam in incendium jacere cæperunt. Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes ante jura petebant: patria tot regum; unicus quondam Græciæ terror; molita mille navium claſſem, et exercitus, quibus Europa inundata eſt; contabulato mari molibus, perfoſſiſque montibus, in quorum ſpecus fretum immiſſum eſt. Ac ne longâ quidem ætate, quæ excidium ejus ſequuta eſt, reſurrexit. Alias habuere urbes Macedonum reges, quas nunc habent Parthi, hujus veſtigium non inveniretur, niſi Araxes amnis oſtenderet. Haud procul mœnibus fluxerat, inde urbem fuiſſe XX ſtadiis diſtantem, credunt magis, quam ſciunt adcolæ." (Q. Curt. Lib. 5.--67. Tom. 1.--356, 357, 358.) The learned reader may conſult Salmaſius, (Plin. Exercit. 846.) on the Araxes.

[x] "Πας ὁ περι τα βασιλεια τοπος κατεφλεχθη." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--216.

the diſaſter which befel the ancient palace of the kings of Perſia,[y] and agrees in this particular with Strabo[z] and Clitarchus.[a] Plutarch even diminiſhes the conflagration, and we may collect from him, that this edifice was the ſole building expoſed to the flames, that a part of it was only burnt, and that Alexander, recovering from his Bacchanalian phrenſy, ordered the flames to be extinguiſhed.[b] The ruins of this celebrated palace are ſtill ſubſiſting,

[y] Thais does not appear in Arrian's narrative to have had any ſhare in the tranſaction, and the Bacchanalian riot is totally ſuppreſſed. Parmenio oppoſed the Macedonian Monarch's intention with arguments drawn both from honour and prudence, but in vain; and the Royal palace of Perſepolis, if we are to believe this Greek hiſtorian, ſuffered in retaliation for the Perſian ravages in Greece. "Τα βασιλεια δε τα Περσικα ενεπρησε, Παρμενιωνος σωζειν συμβελευοντος, τα τε αλλα κ' ὁτι ου καλον αυτου κτηματα ηδη απολλυναι, κ' ὁτι ουχ'ὡσαυτως προσεξουσιν αυτω οἱ κατα την Ασιαν ανθρωποι, ὡς ουδε αυτω εγνωκοτι κατεχειν της Ασιας αρχην, αλλ'απελθειν μονον νικωντα· ὁ δε, τιμωρησασθαι εθελειν Περσας εφασκεν, ανθ'ὡν επι την Ἑλλαδα ελασαντες, τας τε Αθηνας κατεσκαψαν, κ' τα ἱερα ενεπρησαν, κ' ὁσα αλλα κακα τους Ἑλληνας ειργασαντο, ὑπερ τουτων δικας λαβειν· Αλλ'ουδ'εμοι δοκει συγγνωμη δρασαι τουτο γε Αλεξανδρον, ουδε εινai τις αυτη Περσων των παλαι τιμωρια." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 18.--224, 225.) The evidence is unexceptionable from its concluſion.

[z] "Ενεπρησε δε ὁ Αλεξανδρος τα εν Περσαιπολει βασιλεια, τιμωρων τοις Ἑλλησιν, ὁτι κακεινων ἱερα κ' πολεις οἱ Περσαι πυρι κ' σιδηρω διεπορθησαν." Strabo. Lib. 15.--1061.

[a] "Οἱ δε μεγας Αλεξανδρος ου Θαιδα εσχε μεθ'ἑαυτου την Ατλικην ἑταιραν· περι ἡς φησι Κλειταρχος ὡς αιτιας γενομενης του εμπρησθηναι τα εν Περσεπολει βασιλεια." Athenæus. Lib. 13.--576.

[b] Plutarch after mentioning the Bacchanalian entertainment, and the ſeductive appeal of Thais to Alexander's paſſions, adds "Αμα δε τω λογω τουτω κροτου κ' θορυβου γενομενου δε παρακελευσεως των ἑταιρων κ' φιλοτιμιας, επισπασθεις ὁ βασιλευς κ' αναπηδησας, εχων στεφανον κ' λαμπαδα προηγεν· οἱ δε ἑπομενοι κωμω κ' βοη περιεσαντο τα βασιλεια· κ' των αλλων Μακεδονων οἱ συνηθουμενοι συνετρεχον μετα λαμπαδων, χειροντες· ηλπιζον γαρ ὁτι τοις οικοι προσεχοντες εσι τον νουν, κ' μη μελλοντας εν βαρβαροις οικειν, το πιμπραναι τα βασιλεια κ' διαφθειρειν· οἱ μεν ὑτω ταυτα γενεσθαι φασιν, οἱ δε απο γνωμης· ὁτι δ'ουν μετενοησεν ταχυ κ' κατασβεσαι προσεταξεν, ὁμολογειται·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--687.) The dubious anecdote of Thais was moſt probably adopted on the very diſputable authority of Clitarchus, and the "Οἱ δε απο γνωμης" appears to ſtrengthen Arrian's relation.

ing,[c] but excluſive of this circumſtance, ſuch immenſe maſſes of ſtone of the aſtoniſhing thickneſs and ſtrength, that Le Brun[d] hath deſcribed, could not have been ſo completely deſtroyed, that no remains of them were left. We may reaſonably preſume, that the fire, after having reduced every thing that was combuſtible into aſhes, then gradually expired. Many writers[e] having adopted the opinion of Q. Curtius, it appears more neceſſary to exculpate Alexander, and to ſhew that the city of Perſepolis exiſted ages after his death.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of a ſacrifice by Peuceſtes, a Perſian Satrap, to the Manes of Philip and of Alexander in the city of Perſepolis,[f] ſome time after the death of the latter monarch; and Antiochus Epiphanes, according to the book of Maccabees,[g] attempted

[c] Monsr le Comte de Caylus, whoſe opinions are certainly reſpectable, thinks differently. See a long diſſertation on the ſubject in the Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 29.--139.

[d] Voyage de Le Brun. Tom. 4. C. 52.

[e] Salmaſius. Exercit. Plin. 226, 228.—Bochart. Geograph. Sac. Lib. 2. C. 2.—Prideaux. Connect. of the Hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament. Book 8. Vol.1.--397. Folio. 1718.—Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 6. C. 26. Tom. 1.--710.

[f] "Ως δε ποθ'ηκον εις Περσεπολιν το βασιλειον, Πευκεστης μεν, ων ταυτης της χωρης Σατραπης κ) στρατηγ@-, θυσιαν επετελεσε μεγαλοπρεπη τοις θεοις κ) Αλεξανδρω κ) Φιλιππω, μεταπεμψαμεν@- δε εξ ὁλης σχεδον της Περσιδ@- ἱερεων κ) των αλλων των εις ευωχιαν κ) πανηγυριν χρησιμων πληθ@-, ἑιστιασε την δυναμιν." Diod. Sicul. Lib. 19. Tom. 2.--334.

[g] "Εισεληλυθει γαρ εις την λεγομενην Περσεπολιν, κ) επεχειρησεν ἱεροσυλειν, κ) την πολιν συνεχειν· διο δη των πληθων ὁρμησαντων, επι την των ὁπλων βοηθειαν ετραπησαν· κ) συνηβη τρωπωθεντα τον Αντισχον ὑπο των ἐγχωριων, ασχημανα την αναζυγην ποιησασθαι." 2. Maccab. C. 9. V. 2.

tempted to plunder its temple famous for its riches, but was repulſed by the inhabitants and put to flight, which proves both the opulence and population of the city, about 164 years before Chriſt, the period of this attack.—Ptolemy the aſtronomer, who lived under Hadrian and Antonine[h] reckons alſo Perſepolis amongſt the principal cities of Perſia,[i] and Ammianus Marcellinus[k] ſpeaks of it as exiſting with eclat, as late as in the reign of Julian.

The total deſtruction of this celebrated city is to be referred to the firſt ages of Mahometiſm, and its inhabitants having violated a treaty, which they had concluded with the Muſſulmen, they were maſſacred and their city ruined. Adula-Katil-Mich afterwards completed its entire deſtruction,[l] and its remains were employed in the ſtructure of Shiras, which was at no great diſtance, and was founded in the 76th year of the Hegira, under the Ommiades. This was the real epoch of the total ruin of Perſepolis, called Iſtakhar by the Orientals, and it now only offers to the traveller a few ragged hovels in the midſt of immenſe wrecks of its ancient glory.[m]—But it may be perhaps objected, that Perſepolis had been

[h] Petav. Doctrina Temp. Tom. 2.--634.

[i] Ptolem. Lib. 6. C. 4.

[k] "Inter quæ Perſepolis eſt clara." Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 23. C. 6.--407. Ed. Gronovii. 4to L. B. 1693.

[l] Geograph. Turc. 488. A manuſcript in the late French King's library.

[m] Voyage de la Bruyn. Tom. 4.--301.—See alſo, Voyages de Pietro della Valle. Tom. 5.--312.

rebuilt after it was burnt by Alexander. The ſacrifice, however, of Peuceſtes was too near this ſuppoſed event, for the city to have riſen from its aſhes in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. To add a more decided proof, Strabo, and Arrian tell us, that Alexander reſided in this ancient capital of Perſia after his Indian expedition, and mention alſo its flouriſhing ſtate, and that it wanted only the palace of its ancient kings.[n] The palace of Perſepolis was imagined to have been burnt 330 years before Chriſt, and Alexander's return to this city was 326 years before Chriſt, which leaves only an interval of four years, and they could not have been ſufficient to have reinſtated it in its former ſplendour.

The fame of Alexander's victories had been widely ſpread throughout the Eaſt, and Thaleſtris, the Queen of the Amazons, is ſaid to have formed the romantic project of a journey to ſee him.—Q. Curtius and Juſtin[o] fix her arrival after the reduction of

[n] "Strabon et Arrien rapportent qu'Alexandre ſejourna dans cette ancienne capital de la Perſe au retour de ſon expedition des Indes, et ajoutent, en parlant de l'etat floriſſant où elle trouvoit, qu'il ne manquoit à ſa ſplendour, que le palais de ſes anciens rois." For the proof of this aſſertion, the Baron de St. Croix refers his reader to Strabo (Lib. 15.--501.) and Arrian, (Lib. 4. C. 30.) but after a minute examination, both perſonally and by proxy, I have not diſcovered a ſingle ſentiment in either of the books, referred to in theſe authors, with this import. Strabo, when he ſpeaks of Perſepolis, does not mention Alexander's return to it, after the expreſſion "Ενεπρησε————τα εν Περσαιπολει βασιλεια" (Lib. 15.--1061.) and Arrian does not even mention Perſepolis, in the thirtieth chapter of the fourth book. There is, however, the following paſſage in Arrian: "Ενθεν δε ες τα βασιλεια ηει των Περσων, ά δη προσθεν κατεφλεξεν αυτος." (Exped. Alex. Lib. 6. C. 30.--473.) which proves that the palace, or, at leaſt, a part of it, was ſtill in being.

[o] Q. Curtius (Lib. 6. C. 5. Tom. 1.--419——423.) hath given the galant adventure at full length:

of Hyrcania; Diodorus Siculus[p] after Alexander's ſecond expedition into that country; Plutarch[q] after the paſſage of the Iaxartes; and Arrian introduces it amongſt the events after the Indian campaign. The firſt three hiſtorians ſpeak of this viſit as of a fact, which had poſitively happened, and endeavour to aſſign the ſame motives of Thaleſtris for the journey. Plutarch hath preſerved the names of the hiſtorians, who gave credit to this extraordinary adventure, in which, galantry according to their account, had a principal ſhare, and they were Clitarchus, Policritus, Antigenes and[r] Iſter. Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela,[s] Hecateus of Eretria, Philip of Chalcis, and Duris of Samos, very properly rejected it as a fable; and as Alexander,

length: Juſtin hath abridged it. "Hyrcaniam Mardoſque ſubegit. Ibi ei occurrit Thaleſtris ſive Minithya, Amazonum regina, cum trecentis mulieribus, viginti quinque dierum inter infeſtiſſimas gentes itinere confecto, ex rege liberos quæſitura: cujus conſpectus adventuſque admiratione omnibus fuit, et propter inſolitum feminis habitum, et propter expetitum concubitum. Ob hoc tredecim diebus otio a rege datis, ut viſa eſt uterum impleſſe, diſceſſit." Lib. 12. C. 3.--308, 309.

p "Επανελθοντ@ δ' αυτε παλιν εις την Υρκανιαν, ηκε προς αυτον ἡ βασιλισσα των Αμαζονων, ονομα μεν Θαληστρις, βασιλευσα δε της μεταξυ τε Φασιδ@ κ᾽ Θερμωδοντ@ χωρας· ην δε τω τε καλλει κ᾽ τη τε σωματ@ ρωμη διαφερουσα, κ᾽ παρα τοις ὁμοεθνεσι θαυμαζομενη κατ' ανδρειαν· κ᾽ το μεν πληθ@ της στρατιας επι των ὁρων της Υρκανιας απολελοιπυια, μετα δε τριακοσιων Αμαζονιδων κεκοσμεμηνων πολεμικοις ὁπλοις παραγενομενη· τε δε βασιλεως θαυμαζοντ@ το, τε παραδοξον της παρουσιας, κ᾽ το αξιωμα των γυναικων, κ᾽ την Θαληστριν ερομενε, τινα χρειαν εχουσα παρεσιν, απεφαινετο παιδοποιιας ἑνεκεν ηκειν·" Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--220.

q "Και τον Ορεξαρτην διαβας ποταμον, ὁν αυτ@ φετο Ταναιν ειναι ——— ενταυθα δε φασ αυτον αφικεσθαι την Αμαζονα ὁι πολλοι λεγουσιν·" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--691.

r De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--691.

s I have adopted the emendation "Theangela," ſuggeſted by Langhorn, (Plutarch's Lives. Vol. 4.--286.) on the authority of Athenæus. Φιλιππ@ Θεαγγελευς. Lib. 6.--271.

though he mentioned in one of his letters to Antipater, the offer which the Scythian monarch made him of his daughter's hand, neither took any notice of the Amazons, nor of the Queen, they were confirmed in their opinion of its falſity.[t] Plutarch hath added, that Oneſicritus reciting before king Lyſimachus the fourth book of his hiſtory, in which this adventure of Thaleſtris was included, the prince could not help laughing at its abſurdity and inquiring how it happened, that he had been ſo long ignorant of it.[w]——Arrian[x] alſo aſſures us, that neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus, nor any one reſpectable hiſtorian had given it his ſanction. To ſhew that even the Amazons did not exiſt in Alexander's days, he reaſons from the ſilence of Xenophon, who mentions the inhabitants of Colchis and Phaſis, in his deſcription[y] of the retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, without naming the Amazons, who were ſuppoſed to have formerly occupied that tract of country. The

t "Και μαρτυρειν αυτοις εοικεν Αλεξανδρος· Αντιπατρω γαρ ἁπαντα γραφων ακριβως, τον μεν Σκυθην φησιν αυτω διδοναι την θυγατερα προς γαμον, Αμαζονος δε ουδε μνημονευει." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 2.--691.

w "Λεγεται δε πολλοις χρονοις Ονησικριτος υστερον ηδη βασιλευοντι Λυσιμαχω των βιβλιων το τεταρτον αναγινωσκειν, εν ὡ γεγραπται περι της Αμαζονος· τον ην Λυσιμαχον ατρεμα μειδιασαντα, Και πως (φαναι) τοτε ημην εγω"" De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 7.--691.

x "Ταυτα δε ουτε Αριστοβουλος, ουτε Πτολεμαιος, ουτε τις αλλος ανεγραψεν, ὁστις ικανος ὑπερ των τηλικουτων τεκμηριωσαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506.

y "Ουδε δοκει μοι εν τω τοτε σωζεσθαι το γενος των Αμαζονων, ουδε τις προ Αλεξανδρου η Ξενοφων ανεμνησθη αυτων, Φασιανων τε μνησθεις ἡ Κολχων, ἡ ὁσα αλλα απο Τραπεζουντος ὁρμωμενοι, η προιν ες Τραπεζουντα καταβηναι ὁι Ἑλληνες επηλθον εθνη βαρβαρικα· ἱνα που ἡ ταις Αμαζοσιν εντετυχηκεσαν, ειπερ ην ετι ησαν Αμαζονες·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506, 507.

The chronicle of Paros,[z] refers this wonderful retreat to the Archonſhip of Lachis, 400 years before Chriſt, which was 44 years previous to the birth of Alexander.

The active and martial life, to which even the Sarmatian women were devoted, gave the Scythians undoubtedly the idea of the Amazons; a fiction which the Greeks adopted, and which correſponded ſo much with the taſte of their writers, that the hiſtories of many of their heroes were embelliſhed with it.[a] Strabo refutes with great judgment the ſtory of Thaleſtris, who was ſuppoſed to have travelled from the borders of the Thermodon and the Caſpian gates, which were more than ſix thouſand ſtadia diſtant from each other. This able geographer conſiders every thing as fabulous, that had been circulated reſpecting the Amazons;[b] and his authority is certainly preferable to that of the learned French Academician,

[z] Epoch. 67.

[a] Monſieur Freret ſuppoſes the Greeks to have invented the fable of the Amazons. Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. 21.--106.

[b] "Strabon refute avec raiſon le voyage de Thaleſtris qu'on pretend etre venue des bords du Thermodon juſqu'aux portes Caſpiennes." "Κλειταρχος φησι την Θαλησριαν απο Κασπιων πυλων, ϗ Θερμωδοντος ορμηθεισαν ελθειν προς Αλεξανδρον· εισι δ'απο Κασπιων εις Θερμωδοντα σαδιοι πλειυς ἑξακισχιλιων·" (Strabo. Lib. 11.--771.) I have adhered to Strabo's copulative Και, which increaſes the improbability, that he criticiſed. The Baron de St. Croix ſeems to have miſtaken him. ——"Περι δε των Αμαζονων τα αυτα λεγεται, ϗ νυν, ϗ παλαι, τερατωδη τ'οντα, ϗ πιϛειως πορρω· Τις γαρ αν πιϛευσειεν, ὡς γυναικων ϛρατος, η πολις, η εθνος συϛαιη αν ποτε χωρις ανδρων; ϗ μονον γε συϛαιη, αλλα ϗ εφοδυς ποιησαι επι την αλλοτριαν——————ϗ απιϛως αποφαινονται· καθαπερ ϗ περι Θαλησριας, ἡν Αλεξανδρω συμμιξαι φασιν εν τη Υρκανια, ϗ συγγενεσθαι τεκνοποιιας χαριν, δυνασευσαν των Αμαζονων· ου γαρ ὁμολογειται τυτο· αλλα των συγγραφεων τοσυτων οντων, ὁι μαλιϛα της αληθειας φροντισαντες ουκ ειρηκασιν·

demician,[c] who ſubſcribes to the vague reports of the Indians of Maragnon, and ſome other parts of South America, and hath attempted

σεν· ϗ δ'ὁι πιϛευομενοι μαλιϛα ϗδεν☉ μεμυηνται τϐτων· ϗ δ'ὁι ειπονϒες τα αυτα ειρηκασι." (Strabo. Lib. 11.--770.) And Arrian gives as little credit to their exiſtence. "Μη γενεσθαι μεν γαρ παντελως το γεν☉ τϐτων των γυναικων, ϗ πιϛον δοκει εμοιγε, προς τοσϐτων ϗ τοιϐτων ὑμνηθεν." Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--507.

[c] "Je ſais, que tous, ou la plupart des Indiens dél'Amerique meridionale ſont menteurs, credules, entêtes du merveilleux; mais aucun de ces peuples n'a jamais entendu parler des Amazones de Diodore de Sicile et de Juſtin. Cependant il etoit deja queſtion des Amazones parmi les Indiens du centre de l'Amerique, avant que les Eſpagnols y euſſent penetrè, et il en a etè mention depuis chez des peuples qui n'avoient jamais vû d'Europeens. C'eſt ce que prouve l'avis donné par le Cacique à Orellana et à ſes gens, ainſi que les traditions rapporteés par le pere d'Acuna, et par le pere Baraze. Croira-t-on que des ſauvages de contreés eloignees ſe ſoient accordes à imaginer, ſans ancun fondement, le meme fait; et que cette pretendue fable ait etè adoptèe ſi uniformement et ſi univerſellement à Maynas, au Para, à Cayenne, à Venezuela, parmi tant de nations, qui ne s'entendent point, et qui n'ont aucune communication." (Voyage de Condamine dans l'interieur de l'Amerique Meridionale. 111, 112.) The Baron de St. Croix obſerves that it was neither from Diodorus Siculus, nor Juſtin, nor even the Europeans, that theſe people received the fable of the Amazons; their own natural character, as they were declared to be "Menteurs, credules et entêtes de merveilleux," having ſuggeſted it to them; and he aſks, with very forcible propriety, if the exiſtence of the country of El Dorado is to be admitted, becauſe the different inhabitants of Peru, Brazil, and Guiana, have believed it. The concurrence of traditions, whenever they are properly authenticated, under theſe circumſtances, is certainly extraordinary; but two rules may perhaps be laid down, which, in a great meaſure, may ſerve for our general direction. When traditions of things, which were poſſible, are handed down to ſucceeding generations, in diſtant and unconnected nations, they undoubtedly carry with them an appearance of authority: where they run in a direct oppoſition to the known and immutable laws of nature, they can only be conſidered as repeated inſtances of weakneſs and credulity. Such a ſociety as that of the Amazons, could not have ſubſiſted without a total metamorphoſis of the human ſpecies, and the annihilation of its wants and paſſions. To make uſe of Strabo's ſtrong expreſſion, it would be literally "Ὡς αν ει τις λεγοι, τϐς μεν ανδρας γυναικας γινομενες τϐς τοτε, τας δε γυναικας ανδρας·" (Lib. 11.--770.) Bryant (Analyſis of Ancient Mythology. Vol. 3.--457——486.) hath blown away this hiſtorical chaff with uncommon ability, and induſtry: I cannot abridge his labours, without depriving them of ſtrength, and paring off ſome beauty.

tempted to eſtabliſh their exiſtence. The female form is certainly too delicate to ſupport the regular and ſevere labours of military ſervice, and the two ſexes, united by mutual deſires and mutual wants, could not have ſeparated without the violation of the ſtrongeſt and moſt general laws of nature.——We are told, that Atropates, a Satrap of Media ſent a hundred Amazons to Alexander, who directed them to return into their own country, and to inform their Queen that he intended paying her a viſit. Arrian,[d] who relates the circumſtance, conjectures very plauſibly, that this Satrap ordered ſome of the Barbarian women to dreſs themſelves like the ſuppoſed Amazons, on purpoſe to amuſe the Macedonian Monarch, and that the epiſode of Thaleſtris was founded on this piece of pleaſantry.

The conſpiracy and death of Philotas, are related in the moſt intereſting and pathetic manner by Q. Curtius, and the paſſage is indeed the moſt brilliant morſel of his work. There is a noble flow of eloquence in the ſpeech of Philotas, and the affecting apoſtrophe to Parmenio, deſerves the warmeſt admiration.[e] "Muſt you

d "Ενταυθα λεγουσιν ὁτι Ατροπατης ὁ της Μηδειας σατραπης γυναικας ἑκατον αυτω εδωκε, ταυτας φασκων ειναι των Αμαζονων· ϗ ταυτας σκευη ανδρων ἱππεων εσαλμενας, ωλην γε δε ὁτι ωελεκεις αντι δορατων εφορυν, ϗ αντι ασπιδων πελτας·——Ει δε ἱππικας δη τινας γυναικας Ατροπατης εδειξεν Αλεξανδρω, βαρβαρυς τινας αλλας γυναικας ἱππευειν ησκημενας δοκω ὁτι εδειξεν, ες τον λεγομενον δη των Αμαζονων εσαλμενας'" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 13.--506——508.

e "Ergo, cariſſime pater, et propter me morieris, et mecum. Ego tibi vitam adimo, ego ſenectutem tuam exſtinguo! Quid enim me procreabas infelicem adverſantibus Diis? an ut hos ex me

you then, my dear father, not only die for me, but alſo with me? I am the unhappy wretch, that take away your life, and put a period to your old age! Why did you beget me in the diſpleaſure of the gods? I cannot determine whether my youth be more miſerable, or your grey hairs: I am ſnatched away in the bloom of my years, and the executioner muſt put an end to your days, whom the courſe of nature would have taken out of the way, had fortune had but a little patience."[f] Yet theſe beauties would undoubtedly have been introduced with more propriety into any other work than hiſtory, which ought only to admit the cold and correct truth, and ſhould convince by a rational appeal to the underſtanding, without attempting to dazzle and ſeduce it by any ornaments. Stripping the narrative of its adventitious decorations, are we to collect from it, that Philotas was really guilty of the treaſon, with which he was accuſed? his defence by the Latin hiſtorian apparently proves his innocence, notwithſtanding we are afterwards told, that his execution did not merit the pity and commiſeration of his friends.[g] It may be difficult to reconcile the cruel

me fructus perciperes, qui te manent? Neſcio, adoleſcentia mea miſerior eſt, an ſenectus tua: ego in ipſo robore ætatis eripior; tibi carnifex ſpiritum adimet, quem ſi fortuna expectare voluiſſet, natura repoſcebat." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 10. Tom. 1.--461.

[f] Digby's Q. Curtius, Book 6. Vol. 1.--365, 366.

[g] It is fit that the Latin hiſtorian ſhould be heard in his defence. "Parmenio et Philotas, principes amicorum niſi palam ſontes, ſine indignatione totius exercitus non potuiſſent damnari. Itaque anceps quæſtio fuit: dum inficiatus eſt facinus, crudeliter torqueri videbatur: poſt confeſſionem, Philotas ne amicorum quidem miſericordiam meruit." (Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--472.) The confeſſion of the charge varied the whole face of the proceedings, whether real or imaginary.

cruel indifference to his fate with the regrets of the Macedonian army, at firſt extremely exaſperated againſt Philotas, and afterwards very clamorous againſt the authors of his puniſhment.[h] Perhaps that ſort of oſtentatious vanity, which in the tide of proſperity is apt to aſſume an offenſive aſpect, and irritate the vulgar, though it may be deſpiſed by the Sage, was the only crime of the unfortunate General. Death cancelled in all likelihood the failing, and the Macedonian ſoldiers both forgot his foibles, and recollecting his virtues ſincerely bewailed his loſs.

[h] "Philotan ſicut recentibus ſceleris ejus veſtigiis jure adfectum ſupplicio cenſuerant milites; ita poſtquam deſierat eſſe, quem odiſſent, invidia in miſericordiam vertit. Moverat et claritas juvenis; et patris ejus ſenectus atque orbitas. Primus Aſiam aperuerat regi omnium periculorum ejus particeps; ſemper alterum in Acie cornu defenderat: Philippo quoque ante omnes amicus; et ipſi Alexandro tam fidus, ut occidendi Attalum non alio miniſtro uti mallet. Horum cogitatio ſubibat exercitum; ſeditioſæque voces referebantur ad regem." (Q. Curtius, Lib. 7. C. 1. Tom. 2.--473, 474.) Popular clamours and prejudice, after the ſacrifice of their victim, have frequently been followed by Popular regret, and the

"Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi."

Horat. Od. 24. Lib. 3.

is verified in almoſt every age. Livy ſpeaking of Manlius, gives us one inſtance of it. "Populum brevi, poſtquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per ſe ipſas recordantem virtutes, deſiderium ejus tenuit." (Lib. 6. C. 20. Tom. 2.--350, 351. Edit. Drakenborch. 4to 1738.) and Corn. Nepos, in his life of Dion, ſupplies us with another. "Hujus de morte ut palam factum eſt, mirabiliter vulgi mutata eſt voluntas. Nam, qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulſorem prædicabant. Sic ſubito miſericordia odio ſubceſſerat, ut eum ſuo ſanguine, ſi poſſent, ab Acheronte cuperent redimere." (Vit. Dion. C. 10.--325. Ed. 8vo L. B. 1773.) Velleius Paterculus, hath ſubſcribed to the principle and explained the motive, "et his nos obrui, illis inſtrui credimus." (Lib. 2. C. 9. Tom. 1.--379. 8vo L. B. 1779.) though the ſeeds of the ſentiment may be found, as Ruhnkenius obſerves, in Thucydides. (Lib. 2.--118.) and his imitator Salluſt. Bell. Catil. C. 3.--35——37. 4to Amſt. 1792.

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muſt have been almoſt ſpectators of the dreadful application, omit it in their memoirs, and Ptolemy ſpeaks only of the death of Philotas, from his having been pierced with darts.

Juſtin[s] is again deceived, when he advances, that Alexander perſonally boaſted of his own exploits at the tragic end of the entertainment, when all the laurels of the Conqueror of Darius withered. Plutarch, on the contrary, informs his readers, that the diſpute aroſe from the recital of ſome verſes compoſed by one Pranicus or Pierio, in which he had made very free with the ancient Officers, who had been unſucceſsful againſt the Barbarians.[t] The Philoſophical

and gives the remaining particulars only on the faith of Ptolemy. "Πτολεμαιος δε ὁ Λαγυ λεγει. ——————Φιλωταν μεν προσακυντισθηναι προς των Μακεδονων, καὶ ὁσοι αλλοι μετεσχον αυτω της επιβυλης." Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243.

[s] "Solemni die amicos in convivium vocat. Ubi ortâ inter ebrios rerum a Philippo geſtarum mentione, præferre ſe patri ipſe, rerumque ſuarum magnitudinem extollere cælo tenus cæpit, adſentante majore convivarum parte. Itaque cum unus e ſenibus Clitus, fiduciâ amicitiæ regiæ, cujus palmam tenebat, memoriam Philippi tueretur, laudaretque ejus res geſtas, adeo regem offendit, ut telo a ſatellite rapto eumdem in convivio trucidaverit." Juſtin. Lib. 12. C. 6.--315, 316.

[t] "Ποτε δε νεανικε συρραγεντος, ηδετο ποιηματα Πρανικε τινος (ὡς δε φασιν ενιοι Πιεριωνος) εις τους στρατηγους πεποιημενα τους εναγχος ηττημενους ὑπο των βαρβαρων, επ' αισχυνη καὶ χελωτι· των δε πρεσβυτερων δυσχεραινοντων, καὶ λοιδορυντων τον τε ποιητην καὶ τον αδοντα, τε δε Λλεξανδρε καὶ των περι αυτον ἡδεως ακροωμενων καὶ λεγειν κελευοντων· Ὁ Κλειτος ηδη μεθυων, καὶ φυσει τραχυς ων καὶ αυθαδης ηγανακτει, μαλιστα φασκων ε καλως εν βαρβαροις καὶ πολεμιοις ὑβριζεσθαι Μακεδονας πολυ βελτιονας των γελωτων, ει καὶ δυσυχια κεκρηνται·" (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--693.) "Ce recit eſt confirmé par celui de Quinte Curce," concludes the French ſentence. I have omitted it, becauſe Q. Curtius neither mentions Pranicus, nor Pierio, and inſtead of agreeing with Plutarch, he confirms, as far as his authority hath any weight, the relation of Juſtin. "Sollemni et tempeſtivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex quum multo incaluiſſet mero, immodicus æſtimator ſui, celebrare, quæ geſſerat, cœpit; gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui ſentiebant vera memorari." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--568.

Philoſophical hiſtorian aggravates what fell from Clitus, and endeavours to palliate the atrocity of Alexander's conduct by his provocation,[w] but this will be found, from attentive obſervation, to have been the preciſe period of the change in the Macedonian Monarch's diſpoſition.

Man often ſtruggles to advantage with diſtreſs, and riſes ſuperior to the malignity of fortune: in more favourable moments he frequently becomes its victim. *Elate with happineſs* and ſwoln with proſperity, he is no longer the maſter of himſelf; the paſſions rage with augmented violence; and the reſolution which exerted itſelf under the preſſure of adverſity, is totally overpowered by its new and more dangerous antagoniſts. Alexander, at the ſummit of earthly grandeur, and commanding, as it were the univerſe, ſoon ceaſed to be diſtinguiſhed by the virtues, which had acquired him the public admiration and eſteem, when he had a formidable rival in Darius, and his ſucceſſes depended on the uncertain fate of war, and the precarious iſſue of numerous battles and engagements.

The hiſtorians of the Macedonian Monarch have not ſufficiently attended to this change in his character, and are rather to be conſidered as his apologiſts. To Plutarch, the objection is more particularly applicable, but the Scripture hath marked with a juſter and more impartial hand the progreſs of his vices, and after having

[w] De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--694. Q. Curtius (Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--568 ——573.) gives a full account of the diſpute, but as to the indiſcreet language, which Clitus repeatedly made uſe of, he coincides with the Greek hiſtorian.

having touched on his conqueſts, hath recorded the melancholy effects, which they produced upon his mind.[x]

Human glory, like the great luminaries of the heavens, hath its phaſes and eclipſes: at one time it is overſhadowed by a few momentary indiſcretions, at another it wholly diſappears, and becomes obſcured by a thick maſs of vices. It is the peculiar province of hiſtory, to obſerve minutely theſe various revolutions, to give a faithful deſcription of them, and to deliver down to poſterity the real characters of the great men whoſe actions it relates, without either leſſening, or adding to their merit.

The death of Calliſthenes called for the tears of Theophraſtus,[y] and indignation of Ariſtotle. Alexander, cruel and vindictive, now lent a ready ear to every injurious tale or ſlanderous accuſation, and under the pretence of the conſpiracy of Hermolaus, embraced the opportunity of ruining the diſciple of his ancient maſter. Some ſatirical expreſſions and imprudent cenſures, which fell in an unguarded moment from the philoſopher, irritated the Macedonian Monarch, and provoked his reſentment.[z] Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus

[x] "Και ὑψωθη, καὶ επηρθη ἡ καρδια αυτου." 1. Maccab. C. 1. 3.

[y] "Ut Theophraſtus interitum deplorans Calliſthenis, ſodalis ſui." Cicero. Tuſcul. Queſt. Lib. 3. Sect. 10. Tom. 2.--307.

[z] "Παρρησιαστικωτερον λαλουντα τω βασιλει, καὶ μη πειθομενον αυτω." (Diogen. Laert. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--271. Ed. Meibom. 4to Amſt. 1709.) "Gravitas viri et prompta libertas inviſa erat regi, quaſi ſolus Macedonas paratos ad tale obſequium moraretur." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 5. Tom.

lus[a] ſuppoſe, that Hermolaus and his accomplices had imbibed their rebellious principles from Calliſthenes, whoſe lectures they had attended. All the other hiſtorians aſſure us, on the contrary, that his intimacy with Hermolaus was the ſole reaſon for the ſuſpicions of his loyalty, and that trivial and unfounded as they were, his enemies magnified them, by their hatred and malevolence, into proofs of guilt.[b] In the opinion of Q. Curtius, Calliſthenes was innocent,[c] and his defence of Hermolaus, though it may be perhaps

Tom. 2.--596.) "Haudquaquam aulæ et adſentantium adcommodatus ingenio." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618.) "Καλλισθενης λεγων μεν ην δυνατ☉, ϗ μεγας, νυν δε ουκ εχεν." (Ariſtot. apud Plut. De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.) Such was the prevailing opinion, and there remains little doubt that Calliſthenes owed his ruin to the rigid auſterity of his manners, and a want of that ſupple and accommodating habit, which, like old age, as deſcribed by Catullus,

"Omnibus omnia annuit,"

209. Ed. Vulpii. 4to 1737.

and is an eſſential requiſite in every corrupt and luxurious Court.

a "Αριστοβουλ☉ μεν λεγει, ὁτι ϗ Καλλισθενην επαραι σφας εφασαν ες το τολμημα· ϗ Πτολεμαι☉ ὡσαυτως λεγει." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--293.

b "Οι δε πολλοι ου ταυτη λεγουσιν, αλλα δια μισ☉ γαρ το ηδη ον προς Καλλισθενην εξ Αλεξανδρου, ϗ ὁτι ὁ Ερμολαυς ες τα μαλιστα επιτηδει☉ ην τω Καλλισθενει, ου χαλεπως πιστευσαι τα χειρω ὑπερ Καλλισθενους Αλεξανδρον· Ηδη δε τινες ϗ τα ανεγραψαν· τον Ερμολαον προαχθεντα ες τους Μακεδονας ὁμολογειν τε επιβουλευσαι·" Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--293.

c "Initi conſilii in caput regis innoxius: (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618.) but he admits that the philoſopher lent a ready ear to ſome improper cenſures of his Sovereign. "Calliſthenes non ut participem facinoris nominatum eſſe, conſtabat; ſed ſolitum puerorum ſermonibus vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles aures præbere." (Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 6. Tom. 2.--607.) Plutarch, notwithſtanding, hath effectually vindicated Calliſthenes. "Και τοι των περι Ερμολαον ουδεις ουδε δια της εσχατης αναγκης του Καλλισθενους κατειπεν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--695.

haps too ingenious, leaves no doubt whatever of the injuſtice that was done to him. [d]

The Latin hiſtorian adds, that Calliſthenes was condemned without being heard in his defence. [e] But this idea ſeems to be contradicted by the evidence of Ariſtotle, and we learn that his ancient ſcholar was condemned by the Macedonians, [f] who had preſerved their right of trial for ſtate crimes, and had carefully excluded the Royal authority from any ſhare in their deliberations. [g] If the Macedonians tried Calliſthenes, the ſentence muſt have been conformable to their laws, and the philoſopher muſt have been either ſtoned to death, or pierced with darts, [h] inſtead of expiring on the croſs, according to Ptolemy; [i] being confined in a cage,

[d] Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 7. Tom. 2.--608——612.

[e] "Calliſthenes quoque tortus interiit.——————Itaque nullius cædes majorem apud Græcos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod præditum optimis moribus artibuſque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat, quum interfecto Clito mori perſeveraret; non tantum occiderit, ſed etiam torſerit indictâ quidem cauſâ." Q. Curt. Lib. 8. C. 8. Tom. 2.--618, 619.

[f] "Οργιζομενω τω δημω——————ωραοι γαρ γιγνονται, ὁταν εις αλλον την οργην αναλωσωσιν· διον συνεβη επι Εργοφιλω· μαλλον γαρ χαλεπαινοντες, η Καλλισθενει ἀφησαν δια το Καλλισθενες τη ωροτεραια καταγνωναι θανατον"' Ariſtot. Rhetor. Lib. 2. C. 3. Ariſt. Opera. Tom. 3.--751.

[g] "De capitalibus rebus vetuſto Macedonum more inquirebat exercitus, in pace erat vulgi. Nihil poteſtas regum valebat; niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas." Q. Curt. Lib. 6. C. 8. Tom. 1. --444, 445.

[h] Which were Macedonian puniſhments, as we learn from Q. Curtius (Lib. 6. C. 11. Tom. 1.--470, 471.) and Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 3. C. 26.--243.

[i] "Πτολεμαιος δε ὁ Λαγω ςρεβλωθεντα ϗ κρεμασθεντα αποθανειν." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--294.

cage, and dying from filth and vermin, by the report of others; and ſtill leſs being expoſed to a lion,[k] or ſhut up in a cavern after having the noſe, lips, and ears cut off,[l] which were the common puniſhments of the Eaſtern and barbarous[m] nations. Ariſtobulus related that Calliſthenes was carried a priſoner, and in chains, along with the army, and that he died a natural death;[n] and Chares confirms this account, and aſſures us, that he died in irons after a confinement of ſeven months, when Alexander beſieged the city of the Malli.[o] The Prince in a letter to Antipater, informs him, "The Macedonians have ſtoned the young men to death. As for the Sophiſt I will puniſh him myſelf, and thoſe that ſent him too, nor ſhall the towns that harboured the con-

 ſpirators

[k] "Εν σιδηρα περιηγετο γαλεαγρα, φθειριων ϗ ακομις@· ϗ τελ@ λεοντι παραβληθεις, ἑτω κατεσθιεν·"
Diogen. Laert. Lib. 5. Tom. 1.--271, 272.

[l] Quippe cum Alexander Magnus Calliſthenem philoſophum, propter ſalutationis Perſicæ interpellatum morem, inſidiarum, quæ ſibi paratæ fuerant, conſcium fuiſſe iratus finxiſſet; eumque, truncatis creduliter omnibus membris, abſciſſiſque auribus ac naſo labiiſque, deforme ac miſerandum ſpectaculum reddidiſſet: inſuper cum cane in caveâ clauſum ad metum ceterorum circumferret. &c." Juſtin. Lib. 15. C. 3.--396.

[m] See Diod. Sicul. Lib. 17. Tom. 2.--213.—Ammian. Marcellinus. Lib. 30. C. 8.--656. Ed. Gronov. 4to 1693.—Juſtin. Lib. 1. C. 10.--51.—Q. Curtius. Lib. 3. C. 8. Tom. 1. --108.

[n] "Καλλισθενην δε Αριστοβυλ@ μεν λεγει δεδεμενον εν παιδαις ξυμπεριαγεσθαι τη στρατια, επειτα νοσω τελευτησαι." Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 4. C. 14.--294.

[o] "Χαρης δε, μετα την συλληψιν ἑπτα μηνας φυλατθεσθαι δεδεμενον, ὡς εν τω συνεδριω κριθειη, παρον τ@ Αριστοτελης· εν αἰς ἡμεραις Αλεξανδρ@ εν Μαλλοις Οξυδρακαις στρωθη περι την Ινδιαν αποθανειν ὑπερ παχυν γενομενον ϗ φθειριασαντα." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

ſpirators eſcape."[p] Plutarch, who preſerved this fragment of a letter, adds, that ſeveral authors believed, that Calliſthenes finiſhed his days by a natural death in priſon.[q] The writers of antiquity, who have taken notice of the death of the philoſopher, do not mention ańy extraordinary puniſhment, that he ſuffered,[r] and their ſilence ſeems to ſtrengthen the opinion of Ariſtobulus and Chares. Alexander, with his conſummate political knowledge, could not have been ſo inconſiderate as to diſplay before the Macedonians, the refined modes of torture invented by the people, that they had conquered. From this prudential ſyſtem the execution of Calliſthenes was probably ſuſpended, and the hazard of another inſurrection of the troops avoided, who might have conſidered the philoſopher as a victim ſacrificed on account of his adherence and attachment to the cuſtoms of their country.

Alexander hath been accuſed with ſtrict juſtice of ſhedding the blood of his beſt friends,[s] but malice may have augmented the number

[p] Langhorn's Plutarch. Vol. 4.--299. "Οι μεν Παιδες (φησιν) ὑπο των Μακεδονων κατελευσθησαν· τον δε σοφιςην εγω κολασω, κ᾽ τυς εκπεμψαντας αυτον, κ᾽ τυς ὑποδεχομενυς ταις πολεσι τυς εμοι επιβυλευοντας"' De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

[q] "Αποθανειν δε αυτον, ὁι μεν ὑπο Αλεξανδρυ κρεμασθεντα λεγυσιν, ὁι δε, εν πεδαις δεδεμενον κ᾽ νοσησαντα." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

[r] Dial. Mortuorum. 13. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--394.—Val. Max. Lib. 9. C. 3.--817.--Ed. Torrenii. 4to 1726.—Excerpta ex Polybio. Lib. 12.---Seneca. Quæſt. Nat. Lib. 6. Tom. 2.--805. Ed. 8vo Amſt. 1672.

[s] Plutarch. De Multitudine Amicorum. Tom. 2.--96.---Dialog. Mortuorum. 13, 14. Luciani Opera. Tom. 1.--394——396.---Tit. Liv. Lib. 9. C. 18. Tom. 2.--907.---Arrian. Exped. Alex.

number of thoſe, who were ſuppoſed to have been put to death from his ſuſpicions and caprices. Juſtin pretends, that Lyſimachus, who mounted the throne after Alexander's deceaſe, had been expoſed to a lion, on account of his connections with Calliſthenes,[t] under whom he ſtudied, and that he diſpatched the ravenous beaſt, by thruſting his arm, wrapped in his mantle, down its throat. The origin of this fable, which was adopted by ſeveral hiſtorians, was clearly ſeen by Q. Curtius, who tells us, that Alexander, on a hunting party in Sogdia, was in great danger from a lion, and that Lyſimachus ruſhed in to his aſſiſtance.[w] This cirumſtance might eaſily have given riſe to the fable, but far from being expoſed to the wild beaſt as a puniſhment, the danger of Lyſimachus was both voluntary and accidental. Plutarch even reckons Lyſimachus amongſt the perſons who accuſed Calliſthenes,[x] and on

Alex. Lib. 7. C. 4.--483.---Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat. Lib. 9.--598.--De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--697.

[t] "Lyſimachus, audire Calliſthenem, et præcepta ab eo virtutis accipere ſolitus, miſertus tanti viri, non culpæ, ſed libertatis pœnas pendentis, venenum ei in remedia calamitatium dedit. Quod adeo ægre Alexander tulit, ut eum objici ferociſſimo leoni juberet. Sed cum ad conſpectum ejus concitatus leo impetum feciſſet, manum amiculo involutam Lyſimachus in os leonis immerſit, adreptâque linguâ, feram exanimavit." (Juſtin. Lib. 15. C. 3.--396, 397.) Valerius Maximus alſo hath the expreſſion of "Lyſimachus leoni objectus." Lib. 9. C. 3.--817.

[w] "Alexander cum toto exercitu ingreſſus agitari undique feras juſſit. Inter quas quum leo magnitudinis raræ ipſum regem invaſurus incurreret; forte Lyſimachus, qui poſtea regnavit, proximus Alexandro, venabulum objicere feræ cœperat. Quo rex repulſo, et abire juſſo, adjecit, tam a ſemet uno quam a Lyſimacho leonem interfici poſſe. Lyſimachus enim quondam cum venaretur in Syriâ, occiderat eximiæ magnitudinis feram ſolus: ſed lævo humero uſque ad oſſa laceratus ad ultimum periculum pervenerat." Q. Curtius. Lib. 8. C. 1. Tom. 2.--566.

[x] "Επειτα Λυσιμαχοι κ᾽ Αγνωνες επεφυοντο, φασκοντες περιιεναι τον σοφιστην, ὡς επι καλαλυσει τυραννιδ᾽ μεγα φρονουντα, κ᾽ συντρεχειν προς αυτον τα μειρακια, κ᾽ περιεπειν, ὡς μονον ελευθερον εν τοσαυταις μυριασιν." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--696.

this ſuppoſition, he could not have forfeited the Macedonian Monarch's favour from an undue partiality to the philoſopher, and an improper intimacy with him.

The condemnation of Agathocles of Samos, reſts only on the ſame weak foundation. The tears, which he dropped over the aſhes of Hephæſtion, could not have been criminal in Alexander's eyes, who had ſhed them in abundance on the ſame occaſion; beſides, Lucian is the ſingle author, that hath tranſmitted to us this dubious anecdote.[y]

Alexander felt ſome poignant regret on the death of Clitus, it was, however, of ſhort duration, and he ſoon abandoned himſelf again to the ſame vicious exceſſes, which have ſo diſgraced his character. Adoration was the firſt object of his wiſhes, but the manly eloquence of Calliſthenes, had checked the criminal inclinations, which the tribe of his obſequious ſycophants was well diſpoſed to gratify. Yet the motives of the Macedonians for refuſing him their adoration, though perfectly proper, were not taken up on juſt principles, or from ſound diſtinctions. The Perſians had been always accuſtomed to render their kings honours purely civil, and the Greeks deceived by this external ſhew of veneration, which was ſtill in uſe with the Eaſtern nations, con-

ſidered

[y] "Τοτε ϗ Αγαθοκλης ὁ Σαμιος ταξιαρχων παρ Αλεξανδρω, ϗ τιμωμενος παρ'αυτω, μικρα δειν συγκατειρχθη λεοντι, διαβληθεις ὁτι δακρυσειε παριων τον Ἡφαιστιωνος ταφον." Lucian. Calumn. non tem. cred. Tom. 3.--149.

ſidered it as a mark of a religious and profane worſhip, with which they ought not to comply. This extraordinary homage, which the Perſian monarchs appeared to receive from their ſubjects, aroſe from their peculiar tenets, and the belief that their kings, according to the Zend-Aveſta, were animated with ſome particles of the ſacred fire, which is perpetually burning in the preſence of Ormazd. [z]——The great author of the ſpirit of laws, pretends that Alexander, "aſſumed the manners of the Perſians, that he might not chagrin them too much by obliging them to conform to thoſe of the Greeks," [a] and Arrian hath likewiſe apologized for the Macedonian Monarch's conduct on this occaſion, [b] but it is ſtill liable to

[z] Zend-Aveſta. Tom. 3.--607. This ſacred fire, immediately preceded the Perſian monarchs in their proceſſions, as may be learned from Xenophon: "Και των οπισθεν αυτω επ' εσχαρας μεγαλης ανδρες ειποντο φεροντες. Επι δε τουτοις, ηδη αυτῳ εκ των πυλων προφαινετο ὁ Κυρῳ." (Cyropædia. Lib. 8.--595.) and Ammian. Marcellinus informs us it was ſuppoſed to have originally fallen from heaven. "Feruntque ſi juſtum eſt credi, etiam ignem cælitus lapſum apud ſe ſempiternis foculis cuſtodiri, cujus portionem exiguam ut fauſtam præiſſe quondam Aſiaticis regibus dicunt." Lib. 23. C. 6.--406.

[a] Nugent's Tranſlation. Vol. 1.--212. "Il prit les mœurs des Perſes, pour ne pas deſoler des Perſes, en leur faiſant prendre les mœurs des Grecs." Monteſquieu, de l'Eſprit des Loix. Lib. 10. C. 14. Tom. 1.--198.

[b] "Ως εμοιγε και ἡ Περσικη σκευη σοφισμα ειναι δοκει, προς τε τους βαρβαρους, ὡς μη παντη αλλοτριον αυτων φαινεσθαι τον βασιλεα· και προς τους Μακεδονας, ὡς αποστροφην τινα ειναι αυτω απο της οξυτητος τε και ὑβρεως Μακεδονικης." (Arrian. Lib. 7. C. 29.--544, 545.) Yet the Macedonian troops had openly expreſſed ſtrong ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction, at their Monarch's adoption of the Perſian dreſs and luxury. "Hoc luxu et peregrinis infecta moribus veteres Philippi milites, rudis natio ad voluptates, palam averſabatur, totiſque caſtris unus omnium ſenſus ac ſermo erat, plus amiſſum victoria quam bello quæſitum eſſe. Tum maxime vinci ipſos, dedique alienis moribus et externis: tantæ moræ pretium, domos quaſi in captivo habitu reverſuros: pudere jam ſui. Regem victis quam victoribus ſimiliorem ex Macedoniæ imperatore Darii ſatrapen factum." (Q. Curtius. Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--427, 428.) The reaſons for their diſſatisfaction, Q. Curtius had before explained

to objection. The adoption of the cuſtoms of a conquered nation, is a kind of inſult on the victorious troops, and deſtroys at once the happy confidence of ſuperiority, which is the life of military enthuſiaſm, and the firſt cauſe of thoſe powerful exertions, which are generally deciſive and ſucceſsful. Aſiatic luxury and the Eaſtern manners, could not fail of enervating the courage of the Macedonian army, and of ſtifling that noble ardour, which is fanned into a blaze by the reaction of the ſoul, on the objects, which have forcibly affected it. "It was not prudent," as an able politician hath obſerved, "to ſhock the Macedonians, in order to gratify the Perſians. Wherever the manners of a conquered nation are adopted by the conquerors, their ruin follows, and is certain. Is it poſſible that Alexander was either ignorant of this common maxim, or conſidered the degradation and corruption of the Macedonians as the foundation of his power? the Aſiatics, who had been uſed to creep under the yoke of deſpotiſm, might ſubmit to their chains with ſome docility, but the Greeks muſt have required management." [c]

Alexander's hiſtorians have let only a few anecdotes eſcape from them, that bare to open to view the vices of their Hero, which it

ed to us. "Perſarum ſpolia geſtare dicebat: ſed cum illis quoque mores induerat: ſuperbiamque habitus animi inſolentia ſequebatur." Lib. 6. C. 6. Tom. 1.--425.

[c] "Pour plaire aux Perſes etoit-il prudent de choquer les Macedoniens? Donner aux vainqueurs les mœurs des vaincus, c'eſt preparer leur ruin: c'ſt la rendre certaine; et l'on veut qu' Alexandre, ignorant cette verite commune, ait regardé la corruption et l'aviliſſement des Macedoniens comme le fondement de ſa puiſſance: les Aſiatiques accoutumès à ramper ſous les deſpotiſme, devoient porter leur chaine avec docilité; les Grecs ſeuls meritoient des menagements."
Obſerv. ſur l'Hiſt. de la Grece, par M. l'Abbe Mably. 225, &c.

it was their conſtant ſtudy to conceal. Arrian, though the leaſt culpable [d] in this reſpect, is not entirely excuſable, but Ariſtobulus hath the aſſurance to advance, that the Macedonian Monarch never exceeded in the pleaſures of the table, except in compliment to his friends, and that he ſeldom made free with wine. [e] This is far from coinciding with the teſtimony of many writers of Alexander's life, and the expreſſions of Menander, [f] prove that the Prince's intemperance was even become proverbial. Chares of Mitylene relates, that the Macedonian Conqueror having ordered ſome gymnaſtic games on the funeral of Calanus, in which ſome prizes were offered for the greateſt drinkers, thirty-five of theſe heroes died in this honourable field of battle, and ſix others expired a few moments afterwards in their tents. [g] Promachus carried off the firſt prize which was a talent.

[d] Where Arrian could not defend, he has endeavoured to palliate.—See Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 29, 30.--543——545.

[e] "Και οι ποτοι δε, ως λεγει Αριστοβελος, ου τε οινου ενεκα μακροι αυτω εγιγνοντο (ου γαρ πινειν πολυν οινον Αλεξανδρον) αλλα φιλοφροσυνης της εις τους εταιρους." (Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 7. C. 29.--545.) "Ην δε κ̀ προς οινον ητιον η εδοκει καταφερης· εδοξε δε δια τον χρονον· ον γ πινων μαλλον η λαλων ειλκεν, εφ' εκαστης κυλικος αιει μακρον τινα λογον διατιθεμενος, κ̀ ταυτα, πολλης σχολης ουσης." De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--677.

[f] "Μενανδρος δ'εν Κολακι φησι,

Κοτυλας χωρουν δεκα εν Καππαδοκια
Κυδυλον χρυσουν τρυθια τρις επιον μεσον γ'
Αλεξανδρου πολεον πεπωκας του βασιλεως·
Ουκ ελατ̀ον ου μα την Αθηνην μεγαγε."

Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

[g] "Χαρης δ'ο Μιτυληναιος εν ταις περι Αλεξανδρον ιστοριαις, περι Καλανου ειπων του Ινδου φιλοσοφου,——
——ότι κ̀ επι τω μνηματι αυτου διεθηκεν Αλεξανδρος γυμνικον αγωνα και μουσικον εγκωμιων· εθηκε δε φησι κ̀ δια την φιλοινιαν των Ινδων, κ̀ ακροποσικης αγωνα· κ̀ ην αθλον τω μεν πρωτω ταλαντον, τω δε δευτερα τριακοντα

talent.——Nicobulus aſſures us alſo, that Alexander at a ſupper with Medius, drank as much as twenty other gueſts who partook of the entertainment, and that on retiring he fell into a profound ſleep,[h] a ſtrong ſymptom undoubtedly of ſobriety.

Plutarch recedes the leaſt from his profeſſed character of Alexander's apologiſt, and he would have us to believe, that the Prince highly diſapproved of the effeminacy of Agnon and Philotas.[i] Ælian in oppoſition tells us, that he had perſonally corrupted them,[k] and the opinion is confirmed by the teſtimony of Agatharcides of Gnidus,[l] and the letter, which Alexander wrote to the inhabitants

κοντα μναι, ᾗ τω τριτω δεκα· των ϑν πιοντων τον οινον παραχρημα μεν ετελευτησαν ὑπο τϑ ψυχες τριακοντα και πεντε· μικρον δε διαλιποντες εν ταις σκηναις ἑξ· ὁ δε πλειςον πιων ᾗ νικησας επιε μεν ακρατϑ χοας τεσσαρας· εκαλειτο δε Προμαχ@· (Athenæus. Lib. 10.--436, 437.) The Χοαι τεσσαρες were ſomething ſhort of two gallons, but the proweſs of Proteas was as remarkable. Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

h "Νικοβελη δε————φησιν, ὁτι παρα Μεδειω τω Θεσσαλω δειπνων Αλεξανδρ@, εικοσιν ϑσιν εν τω συμποσιω, πασιν προυπιε παρα παντων τα ισα λαμβανων, ᾗ αναςας τϑ συμποσιϑ, μετ' ϑ πολυ ανεπαυετο." Athenæus. Lib. 10.--434.

i "Επει δε τϑς περι ἀυτον ἑωρα παντα πασιν εκτετρυφηκοτας, ᾗ φορτικϑς ταις διαιταις, ᾗ πολιτελειαις οντας, ὡςε Αγνωνα μεν Τηιον αργυρϑς εν ταις κρηπισιν ἡλϑς φορειν, Λεοννατω δε πολλαις καμηλοις απ' Αιγυπτϑ κονιν εις τα γυμνασια παρακομιζεσθαι, Φιλωτα δε, προς θηρας ςαδιων ἑκατον αυλαιας γεγονεναι, μυρω δε χρομενϑς ιεναι προς αλειμμα ᾗ λυτρον ὁσϑς ϑδε ελαιω, τριπτας δε ᾗ κατευναςας περιαγομενϑς· επιτιμησεν πραως, ᾗ φιλοσοφως· (De Vit. Alex. Plut. Opera. Tom. 1.--688.) Athenæus gives nearly the ſame oſtentatious account, (Lib. 12.--539.) from whom it deſcended moſt probably to Plutarch and Ælian.

k "Οτι διεθρυπτε τϑς ἑταιρϑς Αλεξανδρ@, τρυφαν επιχωρων αυτοις· Ειγε ᾗ Αγνων χρυσϑς ἡλϑς εν ταις κρηπισιν εφορει." (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 9. C. 3. Tom. 1.--570.) Whether theſe nails or ſtuds were golden ones or ſilver ones, the vanity of Agnon was equally ridiculous.

l "Αγαθαρχιδης δε ὁ Κνιδι@ εν ογδοη Ασιατικων ἱςορει, ὡς οἱ ἑςιωντες Αλεξανδρον τον Φιλιππϑ των φιλων,

inhabitants of Ionia, and his orders for a quantity of purple, with which he meant to clothe his friends.[m] Inſtead of laying any reſtraint on luxury, it was authorized by his own example, and, according to Phylarchus, the daily expences of the Royal houſehold were enormous.[n] The Prince's tent alone contained a hundred beds, the pillars which ſupported them were incruſted with gold, and the ceiling was beautified and embelliſhed with the ſame extravagance.[o] When he gave audience, he was ſeated on a throne of gold, ſurrounded with numerous guards, and Iphippus of Olinthus adds, that the floor was ſprinkled with delicious liquors and perfumes, and that myrrh and all kinds of the moſt odoriferous incenſe were burnt before him.[p] This is certainly no

 proof

λων, το μελλον παρατεθησεσθαι των τραγηματων περιεχρυσων· ὁτε δε θελοιεν αναλασκειν, περιελοντες τον χρυσον ἁμα τοις αλλοις εξεβαλον, ἱνα της μεν πολυτελειας ὁι φιλοι θεαται γενωνται, ὁι δε οικεται κυριοι·" Athenæus. Lib. 4.--155.

m "Εγραψε δε κ᾽ τοτε Αλεξανδρ@ ταις εν Ιωνια πολεσιν, κ᾽ πρωτοις Χιοις, ὁπως αυτω πορφυραν αποτειλωσιν· ηθελε γαρ τυς ἑταιρυς ἁπαντας ἁλυργας ενδυσαι στολας." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539, 540.

n Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539.

o "Αυτω δε Αλεξανδρω ἡ μεν σκηνη ην κλινων ἑκατον· χρυσοι δε κιονες πεντηκοντα διειληφεσαν αυτην, κ᾽ τον οροφον αυτης ανειχον· Αυτ@ δε ὁ οροφ@ διαχρυσ@ ην, κ᾽ εκπεποντο ποικιλμασι πολυτελεσι· κ᾽ πρωτοι μεν Περσαι πεντακοσιοι, ὁι καλυμενοι Μηλοφοροι, περι αυτην ενθ@ ἑιστηκεισαν, πορφυρας κ᾽ μηλινας πσθημενοι στολας· επ᾽αυτοις δε τοξαται χιλιοι, φλογινα ενδεδυκοτες κ᾽ ὑσγινοβαφη· προ δε τυτων ὁι αργυρασπιδες πεντακοσιοι Μακεδονες· Εν μεση δε τη σκηνη χρυσυς ετιθετο διφρ@, κ᾽ επ᾽αυτω καθημεν@ Αλεξανδρ@ εχρηματιζε, περιεστωτων αυτω παντοθεν των σωματοφυλακων. Περικει δε την σκηνην περιβολ@, ενθα ησαν Μακεδονες χιλιοι, κ᾽ Περσαι μυριοι·" (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. 9. C. 3.--571, 572, 573.) See alſo Athenæus. Lib. 12.--539.

p "Εραινε δε ὁ Αλεξανδρ@ κ᾽ μυρω σπυδαιω, κ᾽ οινω ευωδει το δαπεδον· εθυμιατο δε αυτω σμυρνα, κ᾽ τα αλλα θυμιαματα." Athenæus. Lib. 12.--537, 538.